

2-7  
SEPTEMBER, 1950

# SOCIAL ORDER

## IN THIS ISSUE

- ▶ St. Ignatius and Social Service  
A. C. Klaas
- ▶ Anti-Semitism  
Nicholas H. Rieman
- ▶ Health Insurance  
Robert F. Drinan
- ▶ Quebec Pastoral  
Gerald Sheridan

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# SOCIAL ORDER

Vol. III

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## CONTENTS

... just a few things	289
Saint Ignatius and Social Service	Augustine Klaas 291
High School Reading	Eugene J. Devlin 296
Anti-Semitism	Nicholas H. Rieman 299
Compulsory Health Insurance	Robert F. Drinan 306
Out of Quebec—A Challenge	Gerald Sheridan 311
Women in Industry	James J. Quinn 315
Sermons on the Social Order	John P. Delaney 321
Trends	325
Books	329

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## ... just a few things:

THERE HAS BEEN A tremendous amount of discussion in Europe during the past few months about the question of labor's participation in the direction of industry. As country after country passes enabling acts that are intended to pave the way for some form of co-direction, new problems spring up that demand clarification and solution.

At the present time the Netherlands is attempting to implement a law passed in February, 1950, for the organization of economic life. Belgium is somewhat further advanced toward development of the councils authorized by its law of September, 1948. In Germany Catholics and Socialists are debating the entire question of co-direction with a view to outlining a similar law for the Federal Republic of Germany.

SOCIAL ORDER has already printed an article on the Belgian law (William N. Clarke, "Industrial Democracy in Belgium," February, 1949, pp. 49-68). I have on hand an excellent article by the professor of moral theology in the Jesuit theologate at Maastricht, Netherlands, on the Dutch law and a carefully written examination of the background of discussion in Germany by Father Quentin Lauer, of the New York province.

Recent statements of the Holy Father, notably his address to the International Catholic Employers Association (UNIAPAC) of May 8, 1949, the address to the German Catholic Congress of September 4, 1949, and the address to the Congress of Social Studies, June 3, 1950, have stimulated widespread interest and discussion in

the entire question of labor's share in industry.

WORD HAS BEEN RECEIVED here in St. Louis that the Australian Jesuits have set up a social organization which will take its place with L'Action Populaire, Fomento Social, L'Ecole Social Populaire, ISO and other such organizations in various parts of the world. Directed by Rev. Harold Lalor, S.J., the Australian branch has adopted the name, Institute of Social Order, as its own.

AT THE BEGINNING OF its fifth year, the directors of the St. Peter's College Institute of Industrial Relations, Fathers Philip E. Dobson, S.J., and Joseph S. McBride, S.J., announce two excellent programs, one for workers, the other for management. Past success of the school's operations is indicated by the fact that well over 500 students were registered in last year's courses. Members of management in attendance represented 60 different companies, located in 35 different communities within a radius of 50 miles from Jersey City, N. J.

WHEN THE AMERICAN MEDICAL Association begins its campaign against "socialized medicine" early in October you will have Mr. Drinan's survey of the question as background material against which to evaluate the Association's charges and counter-proposals. Particularly valuable will be his brief summaries of the various bills already introduced on the question and of what



may be considered as the general Catholic position on the question of health care.

IN THE MIDST OF preparations for his third-year examination in theology and for ordination, Father Sheridan (who was ordained on the Feast of the Assumption) took out time to work through the magnificent pastoral issued some months ago by the entire hierarchy of the civil province of Quebec, Canada, and prepare a commentary on it for SOCIAL ORDER. We are grateful for Father Sheridan's labor and offer him our congratulations on his ordination.

SOME INDICATION OF WHAT can be achieved in breaking down racial prejudice in high school students by the wise direction of their reading is suggested by Mr. Devlin, of Woodstock. He reports two recent studies on the matter, one Catholic in provenance, the other secular. Both reports show that definite progress toward a Christian social attitude was achieved by directed English reading.

IN THIS ISSUE APPEARS Father James J. Quinn's long-delayed article on working women. The article was set up for the June issue but had to be delayed. As a result the data printed in the story are a bit out of date, but the situation remains substantially unchanged. Data recently released by the Bureau of the Census shows that the proportion of married women workers continues to rise. At the present time there are more than eight million married women employed at jobs (46.5% of all women workers), as against 5.7 million unmarried workers (33.1%) and 3.5 million widowed or divorced women (20.4%). *Work* reports that 70% of 1,000 June brides interviewed

in the Chicago area stated that they intended to continue work after marriage.

IT HAS LONG BEEN the opinion of Father Augustine Klaas, professor of theology at St. Mary's, that emphasis upon the social apostolate is not simply a modern Jesuit phenomenon inspired by peculiar conditions of the times. To document his opinion Father Klaas searched widely through the *Monumenta Historica* to see what social works were sponsored or carried on by St. Ignatius. The imposing list of such activities is presented in this issue of SOCIAL ORDER. You will find that the founder of the Society of Jesus throughout his life was intensely interested in activities which were the 16th century equivalents of the forms of apostolate emphatically pressed upon the modern Society by the recent *Instructio* on the Social Apostolate.

MR. NICHOLAS RIEMAN pointed to the Jews as a fertile field for apostolic action and urged persistent efforts to break down anti-Semitism as a fruitful social effort (SOCIAL ORDER, June, 1950, pp. 249-253). In the present issue he examines the various manifestations of Jewish prejudice and finds them, as he says, both "irrational and unChristian." Father LaFarge has promised us a somewhat similar article on Negro prejudice.

AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION of the full text of the recent joint pastoral letter issued by the Quebec hierarchy will soon be published in Canada. It will contain, in addition to the text, a translation of a letter issued by the Sacred Congregation of the Council giving full approbation to the teachings of the pastoral. When the booklet has been published notice will appear here

F.J.C., S.J.

*Father Klaas demonstrates from the activities of Saint Ignatius that works of the social apostolate formed a significant part of Jesuit activity from the very beginning.*

# SAINT IGNATIUS AND SOCIAL SERVICE

## *Roots of Social Apostolate Go Deep*

Augustine Klaas, S.J.

St. Mary's College

A CASUAL STUDY of our *Monumenta Historica* reveals that social service is an essential element of the spirit of Saint Ignatius Loyola. It should dispel once for all the lingering doubt in the minds of some that social work is not properly Jesuit work.

Long before the founding of his Order, Ignatius was definitely social-minded and an extremely active social worker. For close to 20 years of his early life following his spiritual conversion he served the destitute in their hovels and haunted their wretched, plague-filled hospitals. He went to the poor, literally and unashamed; he lived with them, dressed like them, begged food, clothing and medicines for them, often gave them the very alms he had collected for his own minimum needs, and buried them when they died. At Barcelona, where he stayed for a longer time, he rigged up a soup-kitchen which serviced a daily breadline of men, women, and children; he did his utmost to curb the city's prostitution; he faithfully visited the sick and the prisoners and tried to better their pitiful lot with the slender means at his disposal.

True, much of this social work was haphazard, — but not all of it. At Azpeitia, for example, in his native province of Guipuscoa, at the urgent request of the mayor and the town council, Ignatius drew up for the care of the poor a permanent code of ordinances whose wisdom has been studied appreciatively by subsequent social experts. All during these many years he catechized children, directed the spiritual life of adults, reconciled enemies, and gave the Spiritual Exercises, but his preferred work was for the bodies of the most abandoned, or rather for their souls through relief for their bodies. His first companions, too, at least after they had thrown in their lot with his, were conspicuous for their social service.

Saint Ignatius was chosen General of his nascent Order in April, 1541. Along with the trying task of completing the foundation and organization of his Order, along with all his labors for the Church and in particular for the Pope, it is almost incredible what amount of social work he was doing in the Eternal City. Let us briefly sketch his main social interests in Rome.



## House of Saint Martha

Prostitution was a grave social evil in Rome in the time of Ignatius; homes of refuge had to be provided for those who wished seriously to repent and to lead a new life. The Magdalen convent for reformed prostitutes who intended to take the veil was wholly inadequate nor did it provide for those who were married. Previously Ignatius had been bringing these latter to the homes of pious Roman matrons, who did what they could for their reform, but now he decided to establish a home for them where they could live and work until they were either reconciled to their husbands or determined to remain, persevering in their new moral life. He did not however limit admittance to the married only: the single also could stay there until they married or entered religion. With a hundred gold pieces, realized from the sale of some antiquities discovered beneath the square in front of the church of Santa Maria della Strada, he founded the House of Saint Martha. Soon certain cardinals showed interest; the Pope sent additional funds and commended the institution in a special Bull. Ladies and gentlemen of the nobility took up the work with energy.

To secure permanence for this new social project, a society called the Confraternity of Grace was founded whose membership numbered around 170 distinguished Roman ecclesiastics and layfolk, under the patronage of Cardinal Carpi. This Confraternity took care of the material support and maintenance of the House of Saint Martha, while Ignatius and his companions provided for its spiritual needs.

When told that this work for the prostitutes was a hopeless task, Ignatius replied with words that should encourage all engaged in other seemingly hopeless social reforms: "If I succeed only in rescuing one of them from one night of sin, I shall not regret my trouble." As a matter of fact he was more than ordinarily successful in

this work, for the records show that within a few years over a hundred fallen women had been brought to a better way of life in the House of Saint Martha.

## House of Saint Catherine

Another social work begun at the initiative of Ignatius was a home for girls whose virtue was constantly exposed to danger either by reason of their poverty or by reason of the fact that, being the daughters of prostitutes, they were living in an immoral home environment. The Pope donated the old convent of Santa Caterina dei funari to Ignatius to care for these unfortunates. In this home or hostel the girls could lead a protected life and earn their keep in a lawful way. When they wished to marry they were given a suitable dowry. Those who wanted to become religious could remain but thereafter lived separated from the others. For these the Pope provided constitutions and a Rule.

Ignatius established two orphan homes in Rome, one for boys and one for girls. He himself gathered from the highways and by-ways children whose parents were either dead or had cast them out of their homes. These orphans received religious instruction, an elementary education and training in the manual trades.

## Refuge for Persecuted

To aid Jewish and Mohammedan catechumens and converts, who had been unjustly deprived of their goods and were being persecuted by their own people for going over to Catholicism, Ignatius first took them into his own house, at considerable inconvenience, and supported them from his own funds. Later he secured for them a separate dwelling, for which Pope Julius III afterwards created an endowment fund. Ignatius also persuaded the Holy Father to pass a law forbidding the expropriation of property belong-

ng to Jews converted to the true Faith. Ignatius was not only interested in the spiritual care of prisoners confined in the local jails but often paid their fines so that they could be released. He also made determined efforts to redeem captives who had been taken by the Mohammedans or the pagans. He successfully urged prominent wealthy men to organize and to raise money for this purpose.

### The Sick

Ignatius was noted for his solicitous care of the sick, not only of his Order but also those in the public hospitals. He might be said to have haunted the hospitals during his whole life, and they were hardly the clean, sanitary, well-appointed institutions that we know. On journeys he usually stopped over at hospitals and he bade his followers do likewise. He instructed Fathers Laynez and Salmeron, while assisting at the Council of Trent as theologians, to visit the hospitals at the convenience of the sick. He always greeted with joy the news of the establishment of another hospital, and he made hospital work an official test for the Novices and Tertiaries of his Society.

In 1538 there was a rather severe famine in Rome. Ignatius took from three to four hundred starving poor into his own residence and cared for them by collecting funds from people in better circumstances. His good example and eloquent persuasion finally aroused some prominent citizens to take care of 3,000 hungry poor until the crisis was past. Later, in 1551, he saw to it that famine-stricken large families in Messina and other parts of Sicily were substantially aided by the members of his Order.

### The Poor

It is well known that Ignatius had a special predilection for poverty and the poor. All his life he was busy about their welfare, as has already been noted. In Rome he saw to it that

the poor who came to the door were treated with special love and generosity "as long as there was a penny (maravedí) in the house." He held that Christ Himself must be seen in the poor and some food and clothing must always be found and given them. Especially was he concerned with the indigent who had once been in better circumstances and now were ashamed to beg. To these he would give some employment or other, so that his alms would look like a payment of wages, or he would pretend that the alms was a loan to be paid back in the indefinite future.

We also know how interested he was in making it possible for poor students to get an education. For Sicily he encouraged the establishment of an organization called "Council of Charity" or "Bureau of Charity." This was a kind of central bureau, made up of priests, religious and laymen, including a government official, whose objective was charitable and social work among the poor. The members collected and distributed funds, helped the poor with legal assistance in law suits, built and repaired homes and did other work of this nature. Such central offices were set up in various parts of Sicily and seem to have functioned very successfully.

### Pawn-shops

A specific aid for the poor, backed by Saint Ignatius, was the pawn-shop. They were set up by mixed groups of priests, religious and laymen, under government supervision. They were especially numerous in Sicily. An interesting side-light on Ignatius is furnished by a letter from Father Polanco to Father Jerome Domenech, S.J., in Sicily: ". . . the work of the pawn-shop (monte della Pietà) is very good; but the expression 'the ashamed poor' does not please Our Father [Ignatius], because they need not be ashamed to be poor and to be helped; it is better to say 'the needy



poor' or something similar..." (Dec. 5, 1554).

### Society of Twelve Apostles

Perhaps the most remarkable work of social service initiated by Ignatius in Rome for the succor of the poor was the Society of the Twelve Apostles, an organization that would be still further developed by Laynez later on and ultimately receive formal Papal approval. Its origins were simple. During the sermons of Ignatius and his companions at their church of Santa Maria della Strada appeals were made for help for the poor. Because Ignatius himself did not wish to receive and disburse the donations that came in generously in answer to these appeals, he organized a group of responsible laymen for this purpose and had them meet twice a week at the Jesuit residence. When the numbers grew and the place became too small for their meetings, they moved over to the nearby monastery attached to the Church of the Twelve Apostles, whence the new society took its name and patrons. Ignatius and his companions, however, still continued to direct it.

The Society of the Twelve Apostles consisted of thirteen picked men, one for each of the thirteen sections into which Rome was divided. Each of the thirteen had two assistants who accompanied him on his errands of charity in his district. Besides these there were other members who helped the poor in various ways and incidentally took care of the Blessed Sacrament altar and the eucharistic processions in the Church of the Twelve Apostles.

The objects of this benevolent society's charity were the poor who were too ashamed to beg, the poor with serious family difficulties and indigent persons of the higher social classes who were forbidden by law to beg. First, these people were subjected to two visits of investigation by experienced, sympathetic men; then, if they qualified, they were visited twice a

month thereafter by conscientious prudent men of the benevolent society who assisted them with funds and in other ways. The sick poor who could not afford to go to the hospital were visited twice a week and aided spiritually and also temporally, with money and medicines. Certainly this organization of men was a striking forerunner of Ozanam's Saint Vincent de Paul Society.

### Other Social Works

Ignatius was also actively interested in other social projects of a more temporary nature, merely hinted at in the documents. All the while he was engaged in those at Rome he was backing similar social works in other parts of the world where his followers were laboring, especially in Sicily, where they had excellent government cooperation. He was also putting the social apostolate into the constitutions and rules of his Order, for example, the begging pilgrimage of the Novices something right in line with his "go to the poor" policy.

Pope Urban VIII in the Bull of Canonization, *Rationi congruit* (Aug. 6, 1623) sums up the social work of Ignatius as follows: "Tirelessly he served the poor and the sick in the hospitals. He disbursed alms which he diligently begged from pious persons. From the beginning of his conversion he devoted the greatest care and effort to instructing the ignorant and children in Christian doctrine. He began visiting and helping prisoners and zealously persevered in it. He founded missions in all parts of the world, built residences, churches, and colleges.

In the city of Rome, besides schools for grammar and classical studies where the teaching was gratis, he founded the German College, homes for orphans and catechumens, as well as the convents of Saint Martha and Saint Catherine, and other pious works. He reconciled enemies, gave salutary advice, composed the Spiritual Exer-



cises, promoted the frequent reception of the sacraments. He forgave those who hurt him and prayed for his enemies. All this clearly shows how deeply he loved his neighbor for the sake of God."

Did Ignatius have a method in his social apostolate? As far as I can judge his favorite procedure was this: first he started a social work to meet a crying social need of his day and personally gave it a strong initial impetus. Then, when it was rather firmly established, he formed a society of persons, frequently of laymen (what would be called today a sodality or Catholic Action group), to take it over, be responsible for it and develop it. Thereafter Ignatius cared for the spiritual side of the project and served in an advisory capacity for the temporal. In that way he kept his Order from being cluttered up with a multitude of

external works and yet remained the moving spirit in them by his encouragement and spiritual help.

Finally, the social works of Ignatius were not fly-by-night projects but generally endured for many years, even after his death. His companions and followers imitated his example in this social apostolate; they carried on and advanced his social reforms and enterprises, inaugurated and developed others, and gradually formed a notable tradition of social service in the Society of Jesus.

Social service is not something new in the Society, to be approached dubiously, timidly, and hesitantly. It belongs to the very essence of the spirit of Saint Ignatius Loyola and therefore, adapted to modern times and to modern social needs, should not social service be today a prominent feature of the Jesuit apostolate?

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## The Breakdown of Man

Along with the slackening of the powers of faith and conviction, whatever their origin, people have also lost a certain natural sureness of instinct and the feeling for what is due to man to such a degree that their relationship to the most elementary things—work and leisure, nature, time and death, the other sex, children and the succession of generations, youth and old age, the natural enjoyment of life, the incomprehensible and the supernatural, property, war and peace, intellect, emotion and the community—has been most seriously disturbed.

Men, having to a great extent lose the use of their innate sense of proportion, thus stagger from one extreme to the other, now trying out this, now that, now following this fashionable belief, now that, now responding to this external attraction, now to the other, but listening least of all to the voice of their own heart.

WILHELM RÖPKE  
*Social Crisis of Our Time*

*Race prejudice among high school students is broken down by supervised reading, Mr. Devlin reports on the basis of two studies.*

# HIGH SCHOOL READING

## *Its Effect on Racial Attitudes*

Eugene J. Devlin, S.J.

Woodstock College

A HIGH SCHOOL English teacher, as he labors through an imposing stack of book reports, sometimes wonders if books have any real influence on something as personal and subjective as a boy's racial prejudices. Some recent studies which have been made in the field of racial attitudes should reassure him. Books, granted certain conditions (and the interested teacher can supply these), can and do have a real influence in transforming a boy's racial outlook. What these conditions are and what the nature of this influence is as it concerns racial attitudes the present article will try to indicate.

An experimental study to measure the effect of reading on racial attitudes was recently conducted in a large Catholic high school of New York City with an enrollment of more than 1,000 students.<sup>1</sup> Here are some of the facts pertinent to background and procedure. Two groups of students numbering 170 were chosen for the study. This number, though small was the result of a careful process of selection and represented a valid cross-section of the school population.

The first group were those who had withdrawn from the school library for over a one year period two or more books, biographical and historical, which dealt with the economic and social life of the Negro. The books read were not class assignments but represented the free choice of the readers.

The other group of equal age and intellectual ability had not withdrawn books on the Negro and, as far as could be determined, had done no such reading outside school. Both groups filled out a questionnaire which was later supplemented by interview data. High points of the inquiry concerned general attitudes toward the Negro and his rights, personal reactions in social contact situations, degree of understanding of social and moral factors involved in racial conflicts.

### **Indicates Change**

The overall results of the study indicated a change in racial attitude in a favorable direction which, though slight, was statistically significant. These results have added value because of the practical nature of the questions asked, the representative sampling made of all ages and classes of the school, the range of the problem of race prejudice covered and the obvious

<sup>1</sup> Sr. M. Agnes, "Influence of Reading on the Racial Attitudes of Adolescents," *Catholic Educational Review*, 45 (1947) 415-21.



uitability of the questions to the background and mentality of the ordinary high school boy.

In particular readers and non-readers alike agreed that Negroes should be given equal educational opportunities and equal pay for similar work. This is not surprising since segregation is not an issue of importance in New York City. More significant was the fact that a larger percentage of readers was prepared to grant equality to the Negro in the question of fundamental human rights. Readers revealed a more intelligent grasp of the moral implications behind their judgments and consequently scored higher than non-readers when asked to apply their judgments to a wide variety of real-life contact situations with Negroes. The proportion of those who consistently applied their moral principles to concrete social situations varied in proportion to the degree of reading done on the Negro.

In the social contact section students were asked if they would be willing to board with Negroes. The response was 81.4 per cent of the readers in favor as compared with 62.8 of the non-readers. 90 per cent of the readers were willing to share school lockers with Negroes while 74.3 non-readers replied affirmatively. In both groups there was a general and clear tendency to answer negatively as the intimacy of the personal relationship increased. Thus in the question on common dancing only 22.8 readers and 11.4 non-readers were in favor. Though the percentage in each case favored the readers it was clear that there is a limit to a book's effectiveness.

### Practical Results

From the evidence gathered the following minimal conclusions seem justified. High school boys who have done any significant degree of reading on the subject of racial inequality tend more consistently than non-readers to

analyze racial problems in terms of their moral implications. Racial prejudice where it exists can be minimized and in certain cases changed for the better if counseling is added to the influence of the book. No one claims that reading was the sole factor which explained the difference in racial attitudes expressed in the results of the study. However, by widening a boy's frequently narrow outlook on the social and economic obstacles faced by the Negro and by affording him an opportunity to appraise them in the light of his moral principles, reading does exercise a definite effect on a high school boy's racial attitudes.

\* \* \*

The reading program as an aid to eliminating race prejudice has been the subject of another significant but less scientific investigation.<sup>2</sup> A questionnaire survey was conducted among high school English teachers in several large Eastern cities. The theme was racial understanding through the medium of the English course. The majority of teachers consulted were convinced that high school boys were beginning to learn that American democracy was largely an unfinished business. They judged the high school reading program to be one important way of making boys aware of the racial inequalities in present-day American society. In one classroom the reading of a pamphlet dealing with political opportunities for the Negro produced a surprised reaction at the fact that Negroes were not allowed to vote in some states. They also found a widespread ignorance of such common terms as "race," "color," "discrimination." Some teachers found that a real awareness of racial discrimination could be worked out from books read and discussed in class.

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<sup>2</sup> Marjorie B. Smiley, "Intercultural Education in English Classrooms, An Informal Survey," *English Journal*, 35 (1946) 337-349.

### Erroneous Ideas Dispelled

This survey centered attention on the common and harmful effect of disparaging generalizations at the expense of Negroes. A striking example of this was the discovery that many high school boys were ready to accept without question the assertion that most of the crimes in their localities were committed by Negroes. To discourage this habit, a campaign of newspaper reading was begun to compare the rate of Negro crime with white. In some places police records were available for the same purpose. Prejudice yielded to fact when it was discovered that in most areas the proportion between races was about equal.

One of the conditions necessary to get full advantage out of a high school reading course is to realize that a boy brings to his reading a varying background of emotional and imaginative prejudices which can counteract any good influence a book may provide. This means the teacher will have to set up a favorable atmosphere before he introduces a book to his class. This is especially the case when the book is expected to influence something as personal as a boy's racial prejudices.

An effort must first be made to sound out the class mentality on racial issues. In the survey cited above one way which worked was to secure the views of individual boys by means of a private interview. The next step was to hold a general class discussion on racial problems which the teacher was able to control in the light of his

previously acquired information. Books were guaranteed an interested reception when they were introduced in the course of such a discussion.

The character of the book proposed for motivating acceptable racial attitudes is another important condition. Some books naturally tend to kindle sympathy and understanding for the people portrayed which may be very readily transferred into the real life of the boy in his ordinary dealings with the Negro. In such classics as *Silas Marner* and *House of Seven Gables* the high school reader runs into situations which show realistically the ugliness of greed, the lasting effects of selfishness and discrimination as well as the attractive qualities of loyalty and sympathy for other men. Such modern books as *Giants on the Earth* and *As the Earth Turns* will bring him into close contact with real life events and offer some insight into the problem and basic principles behind human living.

Any book of acceptable character which can present a realistic picture of vital human experiences is a worthwhile medium for developing proper racial attitudes. Granted a favorable reception, the human values expressed in the characters and situations of the book can be transferred to the high school boy's mind and ultimately expressed in his external conduct. When the right book becomes the ally of an interested teacher, the effect on a high school boy's racial attitudes will be considerable.

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### Man and His Work

The manual worker too must be recognized not as a mere tender of machines, but as a creator of necessary values upon which the life and well-being of society depend. His labor must cease to be a drudgery and must become creative. He is not merely earning a living, but is also developing his special talent and endowment, in which he can make a free contribution toward the enrichment of society.

Matthew Spinka  
Nicholas Berdyaev



*What is anti-semitism? What are the "facts" on which it is based? What are its "logical" premises? What is the Christian attitude toward the Jew?*

# ANTI-SEMITISM

*Anti-Jew Is Anti-Rational Is Anti-Christian*

Nicholas H. Rieman, S.J.

West Baden College

FAR AND AWAY the most devastating form of "race" prejudice in America is anti-Negro prejudice. But it is not the only form. There are widespread and deep-set prejudices against Orientals, Italians, Poles, Mexicans, Jews, to name but some groups. Especially against Jews. On a country-wide basis anti-Semitism is easily our No. 2 variety of race prejudice. It is both an ugly excrescence on the body of our society and a major obstacle to the conversion of America's 5 million Jews. It is worth, then, a careful analysis.

Of course, anti-Semitism is not really "race" prejudice, for even the Semites, of which the Jews form but a part, are not a race. They are only one branch of the white race. But since "race" as popularly used is in any case not an exact term, and since Jews are often considered as a race or a nationality, anti-Semitism can be classified with race prejudice.

But if the Jews are not a race, what are they? What is a Jew? Originally the Jews were those who belonged to the Judaistic religion, at least nominally. But this criterion, if ever adequate, has utterly broken down in recent centuries, when the majority of Jews have deserted not only Orthodox

Judaism, but even Conservative and Reform Judaism.

## "Jew"—A Definition

Today a Jew is one who is popularly considered a Jew; that is the only complete determinant. Sometimes it is because of his religion, but most "Jews" are unattached to any synagogue. Often it is because of the locality he lives in, or the "Jewish" name he bears. It may be because of his association with other Jews.

Of course, any man in the street will tell you he identifies Jews by their physical characteristics — their hair, their nose, etc. There is a degree of truth in this, since some Jews because of intermarriage, forced residence in ghettos, persecution have developed special traits. But the fact remains that there are blonde Jews, yellow Jews, even black Jews, and that what most people take for Jewish traits are only East European traits. There is no doubt at all that, given a Jewish name or a Jewish neighborhood, millions of Russians or Ukrainians or Rumanians could pass for Jews. I know at least a dozen Jesuits who, shorn of their clerical garb, would be instantly classified as Jews by most Americans, either

because of their looks, their names, or both. The name is often the biggest give-away, as "I Changed My Name," in the June, 1948, *Readers Digest*, proves.

But on whatever count, some Jews are identifiable as such (with a large degree of fallibility, to be sure). And for many people "identified" can be equated with "vilified," for anti-Semitism is not merely a local infection.

### An Irrational Sin

What is anti-Semitism? By and large, it is simply rash judgment against a Jew or a group of Jews; a judgment of inferiority against them because of their being Jews. It always involves one or both of these faults: a) an adverse judgment based on "facts" which are not really certain; b) the conclusion that what is true of one or a group of Jews is true of all.

Both the above faults are, of course, intellectually quite indefensible. As to the first, obviously a judgment must rest on real evidence, not just hearsay and emotions. As to the second, going from a particular Jew to "the Jews" is an elementary fallacy in logic, unless one can show a necessary connection between "Jews" — whatever that may mean—and the adverse characteristics in question. It is utterly impossible to show any such necessity.

More than that, all anti-Semitism is morally indefensible as well, for both the above mental processes involve, as already stated, rash judgment, or at least rash suspicion. Anti-Semitism may also include calumny, and not infrequently does. To put it plainly, anti-Semitism, like any other "race" prejudice, is a sin, and if one has sufficient knowledge and still remains deliberately and gravely prejudiced, it is a formal, mortal sin. Many anti-Semites are saved from formal sin only because they are too obtuse to see the flimsiness of the straw-men with which they bolster up their prejudice. But the

objective sinfulness of their actions cannot be disputed.

The above analysis of anti-Semitism is general, but basically correct. However, one can hardly appreciate either the shallowness or the ugliness of this particular prejudice without delving into it in more detail. Just how do the anti-Semitic mind and emotions work?

### The Alleged "Facts"

And first, for a look at the "facts" on which the prejudice rests. A brief survey will show either that the supposed "facts" are half-truths (or even lies), or else that there is a perfectly plain explanation for them.

"Jews control everything," claims the anti-Semite. "At least, they control American finance, and public opinion and entertainment; though, of course they steer clear of honest manual labor and farming." The fact is, as a careful *Fortune* magazine survey has proved that Jews play a quite minor part in American banking; a very secondary role in publishing newspapers and magazines; a rather important, but it would seem diminishing, role in movies and the radio. Moreover, most American Jews are factory-workers, forming for example the majority of the labor force in the garment trades. And the best estimate is that there are about 100,000 Jews on farms in the United States—a small proportion, but hardly smaller than that of other late-immigrant groups such as the Italians and the Poles.

### Patriotism Attacked

"Jews are unpatriotic," is the next charge of the anti-Semite. Undeterred by the devastating statistics and records that quite demolish such a statement (see, e.g., *A Jewish Chaplain in France* by Levinger, and *The Jews in the Eastern War Zone*, by the American Jewish Committee), the anti-Jew will probably refer vaguely to "The Protocols of the Elders of Zion" as proving an anti-patriotic Jewish conspiracy



The Protocols, of course, have been proved to be forgeries, and have been repudiated by all respectable Catholics (most recently by Msgr. Sheen). They are about as plausible as "The Editions of the Erudite Elders of Erin," a parody on them by Sheamus Egan in the August, 1947, issue of *Integrity*, which makes delightful reading.

"Jews are Christ-killers" is another of the "facts" of the anti-Jew. It is extremely difficult to see how an intelligent person can make such a charge against present-day Jews. Not even all the Jews of Christ's time were Christ-killers, or we would never have Nicodemus, Lazarus, the Apostles, St. Paul, Our Lady—even Christ Himself. And a Jew of today can no more be assigned the guilt of that deed than Christ can be assigned the guilt of Rahab's harlotry, or of David's murder. "But," the anti-Semite may go on, "Jews even today are anti-Catholic." Of course such a general statement is at best a half-truth. Actually, today it is much less than that, for not a few of the great Jews of our age are friendly to the Church: Bergson, Werfel, Mortimer Adler, George Sokolsky, and others. And where are the anti-Catholic Jews to compare to Blanshard, Oxnham, or the Jehovah's Witnesses?

For many centuries, indeed, Jews were largely anti-Catholic; but was anything else to be expected? An Austrian Jesuit is authority for the statement that the number of Jews killed by Christians through the ages exceeds the total number of Christian martyrs in the first three centuries. And it was a pope, Innocent IV, who

proclaimed in a bull that "... the Jews, living under these princes, nobles and lords, are in a worse plight than were their fathers under Pharaoh in Egypt."<sup>1</sup> Is it then so very surprising that for centuries "Christian" was a term of loathing to Jews, and that only in recent years has this feeling gradually been disappearing?

### The "Red" Bogey

"Jews are Communistic." The best analysis of this barb is done by David Goldstein, Jewish convert and himself once a Socialist, in the 75 pages he gives to it in his *Jewish Panorama*. And he sums up his testimony by saying, "Such an all-inclusive indictment, which is quite common, is prompted either by misunderstanding or prejudice." But the charge is a half-truth, and needs further sifting. What are the precise facts?

It can be proved that for many years Jewish influence in Soviet Russia has been unimportant. Still both in the early days of the Soviet, and in the United States Communist Party today, Jews have exercised a disproportionate (but never controlling) part. What is the reason for this disproportion? There are two leading reasons. First, the savage persecutions Jews endured in Czarist Russia, and the disabilities they suffer everywhere, have given them something of a grudge against the existing order, and made some of them prone to support radical movements. Second, the Jews in the Communist Party are usually among the better educated and more intelligent members, and hence more often among the leaders. Other factors enter in too. Radicalism is sometimes mainly a reaction against the impossible demands of Orthodox Judaism. And the comparative absence of "racial" (though not religious) anti-Semitism in early Soviet Russia has certainly played a part in making that state attractive to some Jews.

<sup>1</sup> One of the pieces of history most needed is a comprehensive and critical history of the relations of Jews and Christians throughout the Christian era. *The Jews: Their History, Culture, and Religion* by Louis Finkelstein, recently published, has done fairly impartial work on some phases of it. But the complete task has never, as far as I know, even been attempted.

### Few Jewish Communists

In spite of all this, neither Lenin nor Stalin is a Jew; almost none of the leaders of Russia in the last 15 years have been Jews, and the Communists, both in Russia and in some satellite countries, have in late years been quite open in their anti-Semitism. In the United States, the overwhelming majority of Jews have never been either Communists or Socialists. In 1936 a careful survey estimated that of the then 27,000 Communists in America, less than 4,000 were Jews. The F.B.I. estimates that currently there are about 50,000 Communists in the country, and about 500,000 fellow-travelers. Even if every last one of these were a Jew, — an utterly absurd supposition — the statement "Jews are Reds" would still be 99% wrong, and "Jews are fellow-travelers" would be greatly exaggerated. And if all the Communists are Jews, where does that leave William Z. Foster (mother nee McLaughlin), Eugene F. X. Dennis, Harry Bridges, Alger Hiss and the thousands like them?

"Jews are secularistic," continues the anti-Semite. But has he never noticed that the papers, moving pictures, businesses, etc., that are managed by Gentiles (sometimes even those managed by Catholics) are every bit as this-worldly as the "Jewish" ones? "But at least the Jews started it," he presses; "certainly they have been the spearhead of materialism." How naive! Neitzsche, Renan, Voltaire, Schopenhauer, Hegel, Fichte, to pick out a few at random, were not only Gentiles, but anti-Semites. Hardly the protagonists of Christian culture, these men.

The anti-Semite is down to his last shot: "Jews are objectionable in general." Perhaps he figures this one is unanswerable just because it's so vague. Pressed, he shifts from one thing to another: they are dirty; or loud; or clannish; or immoral. All such charges labor under some insuperable obstacle.

Usually they are largely unproved, even as regards the majority of Jews (they are NEVER true of all). When they are partly true, they are explainable on one or other non-Jewish basis. Sometimes the explanation is merely that the Jews are largely a late-immigrant group. Sometimes it is that they have reacted against literalistic orthodoxy. Not rarely it is because prejudice has made them that way. For example, is it not presumptuous to accuse Jews of being clannish when we have just finished excluding them from our neighborhoods, professional schools, fraternities and friendships?

### "Ab Uno Disce Omnes"

Having looked honestly at the chief "facts" which anti-Semitism alleges, let us probe a bit more into the mental process which says, "This or that is true of some Jews; therefore it is true of all." We have already seen the utter intellectual poverty of such reasoning theoretically. But only examples can fully demolish it. It is exactly on a parallel with arguing that all Irish are drunkards, because three out of the five drunks I encountered last month were Irish. Or that all Irish in politics are "crooked," as the quondam political machines of Boston, Chicago, Kansas City and Jersey City clearly prove! Or that all Catholic priests are immoral, as anyone can see by looking at certain cities in the Reformation period! We are appalled at minds that can work like this. Yet "ab uno disce omnes" is just as indefensible in anti-Semitism as anywhere else.

Knowledge of the real reasons for certain peculiar facts about Jews is also a great antidote to anti-Semitism. Once one knows the real reasons, one can never again be misled by merely apparent reasons. Thus, it is indeed odd at first sight that so many Irish should be politicians, or firemen, or cops. But we need not ascribe the phenomenon to innate Irish dishonesty, or laziness, or desire to subjugate the



world. There are other explanations, and happily more correct ones. So too with the Jews. That is why, in analyzing the "facts" alleged by anti-Semitism, I have at times given the reasons for the undoubtedly peculiar distribution of Jews in American life.

### The Stereotype

One item in the psychology of anti-Semitism merits a bit of extra consideration. I mean the stereotype. A stereotype is an image or mental picture which in one's mind and imagination is synonymous with a certain culture group. For one person, a Jew means a hook-nosed, black-haired, grasping, unprincipled sort of person. For another, a Negro may mean a coal-black, gross-featured person with woolly hair, uneducated, unmannered, with designs on white women, dirty and generally objectionable. To one who has little acquaintance with Catholics, or is prejudiced against them, the stereotype of a Catholic may be a fighting, usually-drunk, red-headed Irishman who goes to a mumbly Latin service on Sundays, eats fish on Fridays, hates all Protestants like poison, is a common factory worker or policeman, and rather offensively aggressive.

Stereotypes influence our attitudes far more than we suppose. The process works like this. Suppose I have the stereotype, say, of a Jew, as outlined above. In meeting any Jew, no matter who, my stereotype comes into play and I assume as a matter of course that this Jew is along the lines of that stereotype. Any differences fail to impress me. Any similarities are magnified. And as a result, my opinion of that Jew, though he be the best person in the world, is unfavorable.

Or take a person with the stereotype described above about Negroes. If inside a month five Negroes should shove him on a street-car, he concludes that "Negroes are shovers." But if not

5, but 30 white men pushed him while on a street-car, he would never draw the universal conclusion that "white folks are pushers." Why the difference? Because he does not have a stereotype about whites, but thinks of them as individuals. Yet he will describe a Negro as a "coon" or a "darky," forgetting that this really tells us no more than if he described a friend as "white."

### Types of Anti-Semitism

Enough perhaps has been said about what anti-Semitism is, and how it shows itself. If one were to classify the various manifestations of the virus, they would fall conveniently into four classes: ordinary prejudice, discrimination, scapegoating and physical violence. Ordinary prejudice usually limits itself to name-calling and unfavorable remarks, to occasional peddling of falsities, and to a certain sympathy with anti-Semitism. "Some of my best friends are Jews" is almost the password of ordinary prejudice. What the phrase usually means is that its user considers all Jews as somehow objectionable, but makes a condescending exception in the case of a few that *even he* can see don't fit the stereotype. But he still has the stereotype.

The second grade of anti-Semitism shows itself more effectively — in denying jobs to Jews, in the quota system in colleges, in restrictive covenants (which would exclude Christ the Jew if he ever tried to live in one of the "restricted" areas), in social exclusion, and so on. Scapegoating, the third type, is less common, being indulged in only by those fervid souls who believe that most of the world's ills can ultimately be traced to "the Jews." The fourth step, actual physical violence and persecution, is not unknown even in America. Only last year a Boston Boy Scout was beaten up by a few acquaintances for no other reason than that he was a Jew. Both the first two types of anti-Jewish preju-

dice, however, are widespread among Americans, and even (let us honestly face it) among American Catholics.

### What Anti-Semitism Is Not

Anti-Semitism, of course, should not be confused with honest opposition to the tenets or activities of certain Jews. There is considerable opposition among many Jews (as among many Baptists) to any vestige of religion in public schools or public life. Perhaps the majority of Jews are Zionist, and oppose internationalization of Jerusalem. Opposition to these Jews on such matters is obviously not anti-Semitism, so long as it doesn't attack them as Jews, but only refutes their mistaken viewpoints.

Neither is it anti-Semitism to insist on Catholic doctrine where necessary, nor to honestly admit unfavorable things about some Jews if the things are certainly true. In this latter matter, however, we must be careful, remembering that not alone calumny, but detraction too is a sin; and that such facts will often be twisted to anti-Semitic purposes by our hearers.

### Mystery of Anti-Semitism

Anti-Semitism, as I think this article has indicated in many places, parallels other prejudices (anti-Negro, anti-Oriental, anti-Mexican, anti-Catholic) in many ways—in its use of false "facts," in its illogic, in its manifestations, in its psychology. There is in it however an added element, an element of mystery — the Mystery of the Jews. Why are they forever persecuted? Neither Jew nor Gentile has ever fully explained the mystery. Can it be connected with the terrible crime committed by some of them 2,000 years ago, and the incredible curse called down upon themselves, "His blood be upon us and upon our children?" Such a connection is not entirely improbable.

But all this has nothing to do with the duty of Christians. God may be

specially permitting anti-Semitism, as a continuing call to His people to come back to Him. But God cannot will the sin of anti-Semitism, and it is wrong for us to do so. What God's designs are as to the Jews He has never clearly told us. What our duty to our neighbor is, He has.

### The Christian Approach

The Christian approach to the Jews, then, is clear. It must be God's approach. And how does God see the Jews?

He sees them first as individuals, not as copies of a stereotype. He treats each one differently, for He knows that each one *is* different. It cannot be said of God as it can of some persons that "people don't really look at you when you are Jewish." Ought it to be said of Christians, who are God's children?

Second, God sees Jews, and all other men on earth, as potential sharers in His own nature, as waiting to be made part of His Mystical Body. That means that even the "objectionable" ones He treats with infinite consideration. Should we not try to imitate Him in some way?

Lastly, God looks at the Jews with the special love one has for the things that are one's own. For God is not German or American or Irish (though He loves all these peoples beyond belief), but—let it be said: God is a Jew. Not only were all the prophets Jews, all the apostles, including the Apostle of the Gentiles, Our Lady—no, even God was and is a Jew. At the Last Judgment, every man on earth will see coming in the clouds of heaven as Judge a man with a Jewish face and features — unmistakably Jewish, for God became really, thoroughly incarnate. And thorough Christians, like St. Ignatius Loyola, see the Jews a little as God sees them, and would agree with that great saint when he said, "I should count it a special grace of Our Lord were I of Jewish lineage.



What wonder! That a man can be related by ties of blood to Christ Our Lord and to Our Lady, the glorious Virgin Mary!"

Yes, God sees the Jews as His own lost people. But first He sees them as individual human beings, and as poten-

tial sharers in His own divine life. That is where the Catholic approach must begin. For anti-Semitism is as morally objectionable as it is intellectually indefensible. In a word, anti-Semitism is both anti-rational and anti-Christian.

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### A Cana Manifesto

Because we—husbands and wives—are called to love one another as  
Christ loves and is loved by the Church;

Because the life of that Church, His Mystical Body, is nourished by the  
welfare, the holiness of our marriages;

Because our children, His tenderest branches, are nourished likewise  
by that holiness;

WE SEEK THE HELP, pledged at the Marriage Feast of Cana and at  
our own nuptials—

That our sorrows, our hardships, our drudgery, our countless daily  
irritations may be transformed into a loving gift to each other  
and to God,

That our joys too may be offered joyously,

That our marriages may become a prayer, an oblation, a giving of  
the one thing which is ours to give—our life together as husband  
and wife, mother and father,

And that the splendor of Christ's love, mirrored in us, may draw others  
to their true life in Him.

The Cana Conference

*Father Drinan anticipates the A.M.A. political campaign against "socialized medicine" by a brief examination of some of the issues.*

# COMPULSORY HEALTH INSURANCE

## *Survey of a Problem*

Robert F. Drinan, S.J.

Georgetown University

THE AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION has chosen the month of October, 1950, to deliver what it hopes Deal proposal of compulsory health insurance. During this month the AMA will spend over a million dollars in an will be the knockout blow to the Fair ad war to help elect foes of President Truman's health program. AMA's campaign against compulsory health insurance will then be directed to bring the Administration's health plan to a vote on the floor of Congress as soon as possible. The defeat of the Bill by an overwhelming vote is confidently expected by the AMA.

Such is the latest strategy of America's top medical society to halt what it stigmatizes as "socialized medicine." The medical profession, as Cardinal Stritch reminded the Catholic Hospital Association in June, 1950, has been very remiss in its duty to face up to the fact that a vast number of people in the United States cannot obtain or at least cannot afford adequate medical care.

Catholic leaders have been slow to form an official attitude on the involved problem of the maldistribution of

medical care in the U.S. but that attitude is now formed and it is one of official and firm opposition to universal governmental compulsory health insurance. There are many statements, it is true, from leading Catholic social thinkers in favor of such measures, but the National Catholic Welfare Conference is now committed to a policy of firm opposition to the enactment of universal governmental compulsory health insurance.<sup>1</sup> Before we treat the recent statement issued by NCWC on this question let us review in the briefest way the facts on the availability of medical care in the United States and the seven major proposals now in Congress to remedy the inadequacies existing in the distribution of medical care.

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<sup>1</sup> For a compilation of the Catholic spokesmen for compulsory health insurance see Edward Marciniak "Public Health Insurance in the United States," *American Catholic Sociological Review*, October, 1947; for the Statement of the Bureau of Health and Hospitals, NCWC, the National Conference of Catholic Charities and the Catholic Hospital Association, see *Catholic Mind*, June, 1949, p. 373.



## Distribution of Medical Care

The quality and distribution of medical care in America is inferior to only a few nations of the world, notably Sweden and New Zealand. But there are gross inequalities in the distribution on a regional and racial basis. In Mississippi, for example, there are 1,459 persons per physician, whereas in New York State there are only 496 persons per doctor. The fact that the average white person lives ten years longer than his Negro equivalent is well known.

The problem of providing adequate medical care to all is, like the problem of inadequate education which calls for Federal aid, largely a problem of the Southern states, especially of Southern rural areas where money and doctors are unavailable. But it is much more than that. The problem is one of providing the means of medical care for the more than one-half of the nation who earn less than \$3,000 a year. Generally speaking full medical care is simply not available to these people. Preventive medicine is too expensive for them and any chronic or incurable illness causes them to become wards of the state very quickly, a result to be avoided at all costs. Adequate dental care is also beyond the means of these persons with an income under \$3,000.

There seems to be little prospect that, short of a great change in the method of payment for medical care on the part of most people, the marvels of American medicine will be obtainable by the bulk of American citizens. Everyone is agreed that health insurance, public or private, is here to stay. Everyone is agreed furthermore that the voluntary health insurance plans cannot bring adequate medical care to the nation without substantial Federal or state subsidy. The real point in controversy is whether or not the voluntary health insurance plans can do the job if they receive some state subsidy.

## Federal Aid Planned

Senators Hill and Flanders, liberal Republicans, say that the voluntary plans can do the job if these plans receive aid as proposed in their Bills, S. 1456 and S. 1970. The Administration feels that the best way to guarantee adequate medical care to all citizens is to enact compulsory health insurance patterned after old age and unemployment insurance.

The Hill Bill proposes that grants in aid be given to the state to finance membership in voluntary insurance plans like the Blue Cross and the Blue Shield. Only those unable to pay the ordinary subscription charges of prepayment plans, however, would be eligible to receive the Federal-state money appropriated for membership in the voluntary plans; thus the "means test" would be used in its most objectionable form. The Flanders-Ives Bill would avoid this "means test" by having the voluntary insurance plans charge the subscriber a fixed percent of his income and then the state would reimburse the private health insurance companies to the extent of the difference between what the insured can pay and what the plan demands for adequate medical care.

The Administration Bill (S. 1679) which has evoked these counter-proposals is substantially the same as the Murray-Wagner-Dingell bill of 1943. Under this plan virtually every U. S. worker and his family would be eligible for all ordinary medical care required. An employer-employee payroll tax of 3 percent on all incomes below \$4,800 would be levied, and the Federal government would make up the balance needed to care for the nation's health. About 85 percent of the nation would be eligible for free medical care; each eligible person would have the undisputed right to choose his own physician and any doctor may refuse either to join the national health plan or, once a member, may refuse to treat any patient eligible for benefits.

The doctor sends his bill for treatment rendered to the appropriate local or state agency which pays the physician at a rate agreed upon by a board of consultants. The Administration Bill does not explicitly state the method of payment, whether it is to be by a fee for service or by the capitation method. The British National Health Service, extended to all persons in 1948, at first used the fee for service plan but later, to avoid administrative difficulties, resorted to the capitation method, that is, each doctor receives a stipulated amount for each person under his care whether treatment is given or not.

### Further Legislative Proposals

Such are the three major proposals before Congress. Four other schemes are noteworthy. The Keating Bill (H. R. 6819) would permit families to deduct a considerable proportion of the premium cost of voluntary health insurance plans from their income taxes. But most large families and most families of low income do not pay enough tax to benefit by this proposal. The Bosone Bill (H. R. 6766) provides for compulsory health insurance but with a "deductible clause" as in some forms of automobile insurance: under this plan the Government would be the debtor only after the family had paid \$50 of medical expenses. This plan has the merit of preventing the financial ruin of a family from catastrophic sicknesses but fails to provide for routine illnesses which also drain a family's resources. The Hunt Bill (S. 2940) would establish a Federal Health Insurance Agency from which all persons with an annual income under \$5000 could *voluntarily* obtain health insurance at a very reasonable cost. This proposal brings the Federal Government directly into business competition with private agencies like the Blue Cross and Blue Shield; such a result seems inconsistent with the legislative pattern of both the New Deal and the Fair Deal. The latest scheme

is that of Congressman Wolverton in H. R. 8746. This Bill would make the government the insurer of the heavier losses which fall upon voluntary health insurance plans. The proposal is modeled after the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation which secures all deposits in private banks up to \$5,000. So also H. R. 8746 would underwrite the private health insurance plans and assist their growth and expansion. It is questionable whether such negative assistance would be sufficient to extend the coverage and comprehensiveness of the voluntary health insurance plans to the point where they would provide for most Americans.

### NCWC's Position

The statement of the Bureau of Health and Hospitals of the Social Action Department of NCWC, the National Conference on Catholic Charities and the Catholic Hospital Association does not specifically support any of these proposals though it recommends some of the measures proposed in many of them. The NCWC statement is unequivocally opposed to compulsory health insurance as urged in the Administration Bill. The statement expresses the conviction that a partnership between the state and voluntary associations provides a solution to the involved health problem "more consistent with our democratic processes" than universal governmental compulsory health insurance. A state monopoly over health care would result from compulsory health insurance, the statement avers. The state has the duty, it is admitted, to "assume limited responsibility to promote public health" but compulsory health insurance would be an "unwarranted assumption of excessive social functions by the state." Voluntary associations aided by state financial support are more in accord with the principle of subsidiarity than a system of compulsory health insurance would be.



If the shortages and inadequacies in existing institutional facilities, personnel and technical services are eliminated, NCWC urges, adequate and comprehensive medical care will become available for the American people within a reasonable time without resorting to the system of compulsory health insurance.

### Urges Graduated Aid

Health insurance, however, the NCWC statement admits, must be recognized as essential; unless it is virtually universal there can be no solution to the national problem of paying for adequate health care. For the income-tax-paying groups NCWC urges a deduction of \$75 for health insurance premiums from the *net* income tax of all individuals with incomes under \$5,000. For these in the lower income brackets NCWC suggests that the Federal government make \$200 million available to the states so that these medically indigent persons could purchase some form of voluntary health insurance from a private agency.

The tax deduction proposal would cost the Federal government about a billion and a half dollars in revenue but NCWC urges that this will still be less expensive than the probable annual cost of six billion dollars if compulsory health insurance is enacted. It should be noted that NCWC's proposal for the medically indigent is not an outright grant to the states as Senator Taft's Bill proposes but rather a method to provide health insurance for those in the lowest income groups.

The NCWC statement does not include any comment on the proposal requiring voluntary plans which are to be aided by the state to charge not flat rates as they do now but rather a rate based upon a percentage of the income of the subscriber. It should be noted that this last idea as set forth in the Republican Bill is indispensable in any plan to solve the nation's health prob-

lem by assistance to the voluntary health insurance units.

The NCWC statement has met with little enthusiasm in the Catholic Press, the *Pittsburgh Catholic*, diocesan weekly, the *Labor Leader*, organ of the N. Y. Chapter of ACTU and *Work* have dissented. *America* has insisted that the issue should be discussable (July 15, 1950, p. 389). The October campaign of the AMA may provide the occasion for a widespread re-examination of the Catholic position on compulsory health insurance.

### Complex Problem

The question of public versus private-subsidized health insurance is not at all easy. In the 5,000 pages of Congressional hearings, the 1948 Ewing Report to the President on the Nation's Health, the detailed study on the question made by the Brookings Institution there is sound authority and valid reasoning both for and against the adequacy of voluntary health insurance plans. Much of this material is, however, now obsolete since it is agreed on both sides that the voluntary plans cannot possibly become the real solution to the U. S. health problem unless they are given direct and substantial aid by the state.

The major arguments for the opposing views line up this way:

#### Pro

1. About ten percent of the nation's health bill is now paid for by private insurance funds; about five percent of the entire population has the rather complete coverage provided for in the Administration's Bill. There is no evidence that the voluntary plans achieve complete coverage without state aid and if such aid is given the government should control and operate what it subsidizes.

2. Compulsory health insurance can be justified on the same grounds as unemployment or old age insurance; it is not "socialized medicine" which is a misnomer "loaded" with emotional overtones.

3. Every major industrialized nation in the world has solved the problem of paying for costly medical services by sharing the nation's burden on all. Impres-

sive statistics from the latest country to do so, England, indicate that the British National Health Service, despite certain defects yet to be worked out, is the most popular thing the Attlee government has achieved to date.

### Con

1. America enjoys the best medical care in the world and this is due in large part to the private initiative of the medical profession; compulsory health insurance would destroy this initiative and retard medical progress.

2. Compulsory health insurance would inevitably lead to the regimentation of doctors and patients by an immense Washington bureaucracy.

3. There is impressive evidence that an increase of facilities along with some aid to the private health insurance companies will solve the problem in the shortage areas and among the more medically indigent groups.

4. Such a radical innovation as compulsory health insurance can be justified only by the presence of a great crisis in America's health condition, a situation which simply does not exist.

### Conclusion

The tide against compulsory health insurance seems to be rising despite the fact that the U. S. is the only major industrialized nation now without a national scheme of health insurance. The overwhelming defeat on July 10, 1950, of the Administration's plan

to create a separate Federal agency for the care of the nation's health indicates that the Congress will act very cautiously in the face of what is perhaps the most powerful lobby in American history—the AMA and its affiliates. But however many years the problem may be shelved, the American people must sooner or later choose public or private subsidized health insurance to answer the problem of how to pay for the nation's medical care.

Until that time comes it would be well for all Catholic social workers to remember the words of Pius XI in his encyclical on Communism in 1937: "Social justice is not satisfied...as long as workingmen cannot make suitable provisions through public or private insurance for old age, *for periods of illness*, and for unemployment." (emphasis supplied). If Catholic social theorists and workers feel that public health insurance is not desirable, it is nonetheless their duty to do all in their power to provide that every worker and his family will be able to secure adequate medical care for "periods of illness" by private insurance. To do anything less is to be derelict in every Catholic's duty to promote social justice for all men.

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## Applying Social Doctrine

Assuredly reducing to practice and applying Catholic social doctrine cannot be the work of a day. Its realization requires of all participants in the process a discretion born of insight and foresight, a strong dose of good sense and good will. It demands of them especially a radical reaction against the temptation to seek each one's own advantage at the expense of the other partners—whatever be the nature and form of their participation—and to the detriment of the common welfare. It calls finally for unselfishness of a sort which can only be instilled by an authentic Christian virtue, sustained and aided by the grace of God.

Pius XII

*To Catholic Employers*, 1949.



*Father Sheridan emphasizes two significant points in the recent Quebec pastoral: the role of Christian social education, the need of a theology of work.*

# OUT OF QUEBEC — A CHALLENGE

## *The Joint Pastoral Letter*

Gerald Sheridan, S.J.

L'Immaculée-Conception, Montreal

THERE IS NOTHING new about this challenge that comes storming out of Canada's stronghold of the Faith. It is a challenge that has been ringing round the world for a long time. But the *voice* is new. Here is a new voice speaking an old challenge. Out of Quebec comes a voice, challenging the world to be Christian. Especially, it challenges the world to be Christian in its industrial life; it dares to say that Christ has a place on the assembly line, as well as in the nursery; that He ought to be as much at home at the collective bargaining table on Wednesday, as He is in the cathedral pulpit on Sunday. It is a new voice (the Catholic Hierarchy of Quebec) speaking an old challenge (the social teaching of the Church).

The challenge takes the form of a pastoral letter, signed by 25 of the bishops of the civil province of Quebec, "On the Problem of the Worker in the Light of the Social Doctrine of the Church." The Letter is at least twice as long as *Quadragesimo Anno*, so there can be no question, here, of a detailed study; nor do I intend to offer a

resumé. The value of the Letter lies in this: first of all, that it states more clearly than any single document I know, the Christian concept of work; and secondly, that it emphasizes the role of education in the solution of the social problem of the workingman. These are the two aspects of the Letter that I should like to discuss; other aspects, its presentation of the actual conditions of the workingman's life, for example, or the question of participation in the profits of enterprise, will be mentioned only to present a general idea of the whole Letter. Here, first of all, is a brief table of contents:

### Introduction

- 1) Present Condition of the Workingman
- 2) Christian Renovation of the Workingman's Life
  - a) Religion, Foundation of all Renovation
  - b) Family Considerations
  - c) The Real Meaning of Leisure
  - d) Christian Ideal of Work
  - e) Reform of the System
- 3) Agents of Renovation
  - a) Workers
  - b) Employers
  - c) All Citizens
  - d) Government

The Introduction simply affirms the right and duty of the Church to issue directives, and points out the solicitude which she has always manifested for the good of all social classes.

### Present Conditions

The first section, on the present condition of the workingman, paints a clear picture of the post-war scene with its advantages and disadvantages for the workman. He enjoys a relatively high standard of living, finds himself with more leisure time than ever before and forms part of a steadily growing labor force which is becoming daily more conscious of its united power. He suffers from the physical and moral dangers of inadequate housing, insufficient salary, general decline of morals and the increasing tendency to dehumanize and standardize his work-a-day life.

### Christian Renovation

In this second section, the Letter begins its real contribution; here, we find the first of its outstanding values: a severely clear presentation of the Christian concept of work. First, look at some of the sub-divisions of the section on work:

- Industrial Work and God's Plan
- Work, a Mastery of Matter
- Work, a Service to Humanity
- Work, a Perfection of Man
- Work, a Service to God

And now listen to the voice of Quebec's hierarchy:

In modern economic life, work has not the place to which it is entitled in justice. As Pius XII has said: "In his effort to better his position, the workingman runs up against a whole system which is not only far from conformity with nature, but which is in opposition with God's order and the purpose assigned by God for terrestrial goods." (Christmas message, 1942). Industrial work, by means of appropriate methods, is meant to put *at the disposal of all*, the resources of nature and the results of scientific research.... The de-

velopment of 'Big Industry' has given man *a means of greater service*; it has raised his standard of living and expanded the economy till its limits are those of the world itself.... Division of labor means that *everyone must look to everybody else* for his livelihood and for the amenities of life. Each man's work, then, has a social value and becomes *a labor of friendship in the service of all men*.

In return for this service to his fellows, it is normal that a man receive a living for himself and his dependents, either a salary or some other return. But in the pursuit of this return, man must never lose sight of the fact that *his work is a service to be rendered to others*; for to subordinate the primacy of the service motive to that of profit is *unnatural*, and entails disastrous consequences.

When the laborer thinks only of his salary and neglects to turn-in an honest day's work; when the employer seeks only his profit without any thought of the social function of production, the consumer suffers the consequences, and the common good is betrayed.

That is a purely natural concept of work, one which grows naturally out of the fact that man is a social animal. But what a power for good, in the field of industrial relations, that idea would be, if only it were understood and accepted. And if the *natural* idea, put into practice, could change the world, what could we not expect from the following *Christian* idea of work:

In the supernatural order, work takes on an even deeper meaning. If a man works in the *state of grace* and with a *right intention*, he gives to his *labor an eternal value*. So considered, "work is service rendered to God; work is God's gift to man, a gift of strength and fullness of life, a gift which enables him to merit everlasting rest." (Pius XII, Christmas message, 1943). The effort expended, the discomfort endured makes the worker a sharer in the mystery of redemptive suffering.

Such is the dignity of work in the Church's teaching: a means of serving one's fellow men naturally and supernaturally, a means of serving God and winning heaven.

*The renovation of the workingman's life demands a practical realization of this Christian meaning of work. That,*

in brief, is the Bishop's ultimatum. No renewal can be of permanent worth unless it creates conditions which make easy the natural and supernatural development of the worker. The worker should be perfected by his work; precisely *because of his work*, he should develop spiritually as well as materially, in both the natural and supernatural orders. Therefore, say the Bishops, we need reforms.

First of all, technical progress must be made to serve man, and not vice versa. Mechanization has de-humanized industrial work to the extent that man's natural urge to create, an urge that should normally be satisfied through his work, goes unrealized. That this sense of frustration has far-reaching effects is clear:

"There exists a direct connection between the dissatisfaction which the mass of workers feels in the accomplishment of their work, and the decline in private and public morals and the falling off of the Christian spirit."

Secondly, the very structure of enterprise needs to be reformed. Here, the Bishops quote *Quadragesimo Anno* and Pius XII before adding their own authority in favor of worker participation in the management, profits and ownership of enterprise.

Thirdly, the structure of the whole economy needs to be reformed. Here again, the Letter repeats what Pius XI and the present Pope have already said about a system of Industrial Councils to bring into being a real state of Industrial Democracy.

### Agents of Renovation

More than half the Letter is devoted to this third section, a consideration of the agents of renovation. The role of the workers themselves, the employers, the rest of the citizens (the liberal professions and especially teachers are referred to) the government and the clergy is outlined. Here the Bishops

make their second noteworthy contribution to a clear appreciation of the social problem and its solution: *they insist that the work of renovation is a work of education:*

More than any other, our age needs convinced Catholics of great-hearted generosity, who *understand* all the beauties of their religion and of its social doctrine, enlightened Catholics who can introduce and spread the healthy influence of their actions in all domains, social, political and economic, to hasten the regeneration of the individual and of the family, and to insure the renovation of society in general and of the workingman in particular.

Workers and employers, both, must learn new standards of value based upon the social aspect of production and of private property. The clergy and educators must *teach* these same social aspects, must develop in those under their care a social consciousness. Finally, the government has the obligation to protect and to support those private individuals and institutions who labor for the renovation of society. Everyone has a part to play, and the success of the program depends upon the generous cooperation of all.

### Christian Work

But *what* must be taught, *what* must be learned? Clearly, the social doctrine of the Church. Now, the social doctrine of the Church can be summed-up in the doctrine of the Mystical Body. The Bishops themselves never mention the Mystical Body; they speak only of the social doctrine of the Church. What follows is my own attempt to develop what seem to be the obvious conclusions of the Bishops' thought. They insist upon the need of teaching the Christian meaning of work.

The Christian meaning of work is a mere application of the more general doctrine of the Mystical Body to a particular phase of life. Therefore we need to understand the meaning of the Mystical Body before we can fully appreciate the meaning of the Christian concept of work. The Letter has



already given us a clear idea of work; let us try to understand that idea a little better by considering the basic notions of the doctrine of the Mystical Body.

Man is created for heaven; he is called to union with God in the beatific vision. But that union is to begin on earth, through grace. Grace can come only through Christ; only by incorporation with Christ can man arrive at the perfection of grace in this life and the perfection of the beatific vision in the next. But that incorporation of many individuals with Christ constitutes the Mystical Body and unites all its members among themselves. Out of those truths, and only out of them, can come the full realization of man's dignity as an individual and of his responsibility as a member of society. Only by realizing that each man is invited to the sublime dignity of union with God can the dignity of his work be realized; only when we know that each man is called to be a living member of Christ, can we appreciate the bond of friendship that ought to bind us together.

These then, are the truths that have to be taught; these, the truths that have to be learned.

### Application to Industry

It is obvious, is it not, that the idea of the natural dependence which links all of us together can be a spring board for jumping to the idea of our supernatural inter-dependence? We need the

services that others create; others need the services that we create. The practical understanding of that simple and perfectly natural fact could make possible a harmony that has never existed in industrial relations. Spiritualize and supernaturalize that harmony by building on the motive of Christian charity and the industrial relations problem will cease to be.

But let us not deceive ourselves; knowledge maketh a bloody entry; The realization of this educational program will mean work, constant work, work graduated and coordinated. As early as possible, the child must be made conscious of his social role, and that consciousness must be deepened at every stage of his development. The home, the school, the college, each has its part to play. After graduation, the alumni and alumnae associations, the parish and the union must continue and complete the education begun. No one influence is sufficient; there must be coordination of all these influences towards the realization of the one end: a *social Christian*.

The Bishops' program is complete. But it is no more complete than the Christian program for living. No one can ever accuse Christianity of having failed to solve the social problem until this program has been put into practice and found wanting. We are still waiting to see it put to the test. This is the gist of the whole Letter: we challenge you to give the Church's idea a try.

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## The Threat of Collectivism

The invasion which threatens our Western World, indeed which has more or less got a foothold here, comes from within. It is more of an infection than an invasion, an uprising largely within our own hearts than a threat from without; a creeping paralysis of our innermost faith, of our convictions and the institution of society, than a sudden catastrophe like the conquest of a city.

WILHELM RÖPKE  
*Civitas Humana*

*Basic data on the important social problem of working women.*

# WOMEN IN INDUSTRY

## *A Problem With a Big Future*

James J. Quinn, S.J.

Saint Mary's College

ONE REASON, according to Pius XII,<sup>1</sup> why the Church emphasizes the urgency of living wages for workers is that wives and mothers will be able to leave their jobs in factories and offices to return to their homes. Modern economic developments have tended to tear the family apart because low incomes have made it necessary for women to help support the family.

Aware of the difficulties of the situation, the Holy Father has insisted that there be no exploitation of women workers as long as it is necessary for them to work. Going further, he has urged them to take an active part in their union affairs, that they receive equal pay for equal work and that social legislation be passed to improve their working conditions.

### Basic Data

How many women workers are there in the United States? How many of them are married, are mothers? Are they exploited? Do they have adequate protection of union and state legislation? Do they receive equal pay?

This article will attempt to present some of the basic data on these questions and others concerning women workers. To diagnose the ills and pre-

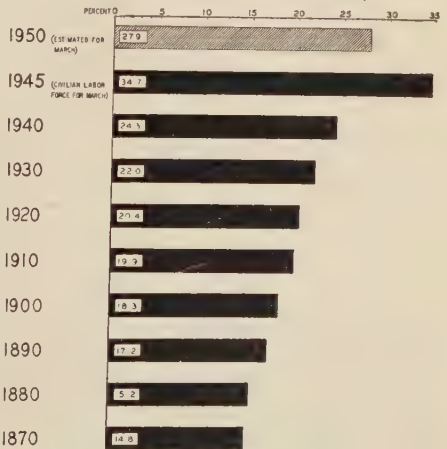
scribe remedies lie beyond the scope of this article. The reader is asked to be the physician.

Statistics will be grouped under four main heads: Number of Women Workers, Wages of Women Workers, Union Protection for Women, Legal Protection. This report draws upon material published during the past two years by the Women's Bureau, Department of Labor.

### Number of Women Workers

Since 1870 there has been a steady rate of increase in the number of women workers from two million at

1. PROPORTION OF ALL WORKERS WHO ARE WOMEN, 1870-1950



SOURCES: U.S. CENSUS, BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS

Pius XII: Allocation to the Women Members of the Christian Unions of Italian Workers, Aug. 15, 1945. AAS Vol. 37, pp. 212 ff.

that time to the more than 18 million of today. In 1870 working women constituted 13 per cent of all women over 14 years of age; today 32 per cent of all such women work. In 1945 at the peak of war-time employment, 34.5 per cent of these women were at work. The average number of women in the labor force during 1949 was 18,280,000; this was 29.5 per cent of all workers.

Below is the percentage distribution of women in the labor force in 1947 according to age:

Age	Percentage
14-19 years .....	11.9
20-34 years.....	38.7
35-44 years.....	22.2
45-64 years.....	24.5
65 years and over .....	2.7
	100.0

Since 1940 each of these age groups has increased, except for the 20-34 group. The greatest increase in labor-

force participation is among the 35-44 group.

Marital Status of Workers

Marital status is probably the most significant social factor connected with the employment of women; if there are children of the marriage, the social import of work is even increased.

In 1947 one out of every five married women were in the labor force. At the same time more than half the single women and over a third of widowed and divorced women were also in the labor force. Married women still constituted a smaller proportion of the labor force than they did of the population as a whole, but their numbers had more than doubled during the war and post-war years. The following table shows the marital status of women workers at three different periods.

TABLE 1.—MARITAL STATUS OF WOMEN WORKERS BEFORE, DURING AND AFTER WORLD WAR I

Marital status	Percent of all women of each marital status working			Percent of women workers by marital status		
	1940	1944	1947	1940	1944	1947
All groups	28	32	30	100	100	100
Single	49	55	52	49	43	38
Married	17	23	22	36	44	46
Widowed, divorced	33	32	36	15	13	16

Economic Causes

It is significant that married women were in 1947 the largest group by marital status of all women in the labor force. This proportion is due in good part to economic necessity, since wages paid to husbands were often insufficient to meet family needs.

This was indicated even in 1940 by the distribution of working wives according to the total income of their husbands. Based upon the replies of married women in cities of 100,000 or more population, the data are as follows.



TABLE 2.—LABOR FORCE STATUS OF MARRIED WOMEN WITH HUSBAND PRESENT, BY WAGE OR SALARY INCOME OF HUSBAND, 1940.

Wage or salary income of husband	Percent of married women, with husbands present, in labor force
All income groups.....	16.7
None or not reported.....	24.3
\$100 - \$199.....	27.6
200 - 399.....	24.2
400 - 599.....	22.7
600 - 999.....	21.7
1,000 - 1,499.....	18.8
1,500 - 1,999.....	14.0
2,000 - 2,999.....	9.2
3,000 and over.....	5.6

### Children Involved

Many children are involved in the families of working women, whether the woman is at present the head of the family or the husband is also present. There is little difference in the proportions of women in husband-wife families with no children under 18 and those with children six to 17 years of age in the labor force. Of the former class 24 per cent work; of the latter 22.5 work. There are 9.4 per cent of all mothers with children under six in the labor force.

When the wife is head of the family, 43.6 of all such women work. Of mothers in this category who have children under six years of age 34.5 per cent work.

It is impossible, on the basis of data available, to give accurate information about the number of children in homes of working women. A minimum estimate of 3.5 million children can be made from data secured in 1946, when it was found that there were in the labor force 2.25 million women with children 6-17, 0.53 million with children under six and 0.72 million with children in both age groups. The minimum will be considerably exceeded because many women will have had more than one child in the age group indicated.

### Reasons for Working

In 1945 the Women's Bureau completed home interviews of 13,000

women employed in all types of industry in ten war-congested areas. Of these workers 75 per cent indicated that they planned continuing work after the war. Support for themselves and other dependents was given as the reason for continued employment in 84 per cent of these cases. Another eight per cent stated that they liked work or desired to be financially independent.

More than 81 per cent lived with their families, and in 15 per cent of the cases the woman was the sole support of the family group.

Of the married women interviewed 57 per cent planned to continue working. Of these women 57 per cent needed work to support themselves and others; 22 per cent did not need the work, but liked work or financial independence. In 58 per cent of the cases the wife was one of two wage earners regularly contributing to household expenses; in another 21 per cent of cases the wife was one of three wage earners.

The same report stated that 44 per cent of all workers interviewed were unmarried. Of these 87 per cent hoped to continue work. Need was given as the reason in 96 per cent of the cases; two per cent said they liked work or independence. However, 93 per cent contributed regularly to family maintenance.

Widows, who were 12 per cent of those interviewed, planned to stay on at jobs in 94 per cent of the cases, their help was needed in 98 per cent of the instances; only one per cent worked merely for the pleasure of it or for independence. Families received regular aid from them in 97 per cent of all cases.

### Racial Factors

A larger proportion of Negro wives than white wives worked in 1947. Of 28.16 million white wives in "normal" husband-wife families, a total of 5.24 million, or 18.7 per cent were in the

labor force. Among the 2.26 million Negro wives in similar families, 0.80 million, or 35.4 per cent were in the labor force. In 1949, 50 per cent of all Negro women 14 years and over were in the labor force. Of Negro women with children under ten years of age, 18 per cent were working. Employment of Negro women rose from 1.8 million in 1940 to 2.25 in 1947.

Patterns of occupation have changed steadily in the years since 1870. Domestic service has consistently been the largest occupation. Farm labor remained the second-largest category until 1910, when teaching occupied second place. It was succeeded in 1940 by clerical work. Needle trades and teaching occupied third and fourth places, respectively, in the early years. The ten largest categories in 1940 were as follows: 1. domestic servants, 2. stenographers, typists, secretaries, 3. teachers, 4. clerical workers, 5. saleswomen, 6. operatives, 7. book-keepers, accountants, cashiers, 8. waitresses, 9. housekeepers, 10. nurses.

Concentration of Employment

The proportion of women employed in various industries varies widely. The ten largest employers of women among manufacturing groups are as follows:

Selected Industries	Percent of Employees Women
Apparel .....	77
Tobacco .....	63
Textiles .....	47
Leather .....	46
Electrical Machinery.....	39
Food .....	27
Paper .....	25
Printing, Publishing.....	24
Rubber .....	24
Chemicals .....	21

Women held a large share of positions in several professional occupations, mostly those traditionally entrusted to them, such as teaching and nursing. In 1940 the proportion of

women to men in selected professional activities was as follows:

Selected Professions*	Percent of Members Women
Nursing .....	97.8
Librarians .....	82.5
Teaching .....	72.1
Welfare .....	67.4
Music .....	41.0
Art .....	33.8
Authors .....	32.6
Editorial .....	25.0
Acting .....	16.9
Healing .....	10.2

\*The titles are descriptive and comprehensive and include many categories.

Women comprise 93 per cent of all household workers and 95 per cent of all telephone workers. They constitute 27 per cent of all employees in manufacturing industries.

Wages of Women Workers

It is difficult to institute accurate comparisons between the wages paid to men and those paid to women. While the income of men is, on the whole, considerably larger than that of women, this is not necessarily due to wage discrimination. Thus, even when men and women engage in the same activity, special considerations or restrictions upon assignable work made some wage differentials justifiable.

In general it can be said that the median of the earnings of all women in 1946 was \$1,045; full-time workers had a median of \$1,661. All male full-time workers had a median 55 per cent higher than that of full-time women workers. More than one third of all male workers, as compared with only one twentieth of all female workers received \$3,000 or over in that year.

When these groups are further broken down by race it is found while the earnings of white men were 95 per cent above those of women, the earnings of Negro men were 175 per cent higher than those of Negro women. The median annual income for full-time white women workers was

1,710; for nonwhite workers it was \$2.28. Almost 90 per cent of all nonwhite workers received less than \$1,500 and 77 per cent, less than \$1,000. One striking exception was the income of Negro school teachers in North Carolina, who received an average of \$2,296, while white teachers averaged \$2,210.

### Weekly Earnings

The National Industrial Conference Board estimated in 1947 that the average weekly earnings of women was \$38.97; all men workers earned an average of \$57.73, while the average for unskilled male workers was \$46.77. In the same year the hourly rate of all men averaged 10 cents higher than the rate for women. In seven out of ten industries the difference was 30 cents an hour. Even unskilled male workers were paid two to 17 cents higher than female workers of comparable ability, except in the boot and shoe industry, in which unskilled men received 67 cents, all women an average of 93 cents, and skilled and semi-skilled men, \$1.24.

At the end of 1947 the weekly earnings of all workers averaged \$57.54, average earnings of unskilled men were \$49.79, while all women averaged only \$41.39. The earnings on a yearly basis were \$1,017 for women, \$2,230 for men. Fifty per cent of women and 20 per cent of men received less than \$1,000; on the other hand only five per cent of women and 30 per cent of men received more than \$3,000.

### Union Protection of Women

Little separate data are available about the activities of women in the trade union movement. Some craft unions, notably in the building trades, restrict membership to males, although temporary membership has been extended to women during periods of heavy employment, notably in the war emergency. Women have been largely

excluded from the maritime unions, largely because of licensing restrictions.

Prior to the development of industrial unions and the growth of industry during the war there were fewer than 500,000 women in all unions. Expansion of the aircraft and electrical industries and the large proportion of women engaged in war jobs made admission to these unions imperative. It has been estimated that at the peak of wartime productive activity in 1944 there were about 3,000,000 women in unions.

More significant recognition has been given to women in unions whose membership is largely female, notably, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, the Communications Workers of America, and the United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers. Women have made some progress in the large industrial unions, also.

### Membership Figures

The California State Department of Industrial Relations has sent questionnaires in recent years to more than 2,000 locals throughout the state, asking the number of women members. In 1944, the number reported came to 21 per cent of all membership; in 1945, it stood at 22 per cent. In 1946, with 1,922 locals reporting, the women were 18 per cent of all members. According to this report, women membership paralleled the extent of their employment in various industries.

Several studies have been made of collective bargaining agreements to discover what provisions are made for the welfare of women employees. In 300 contracts covering office workers a study made by the American Management Association found that a majority had clauses concerning general leave provisions which covered maternity leave. A separate maternity clause appeared in many contracts stipulating



"the maximum period before expected confinement that an employee will be permitted to work, and the earliest date on which she may return."

In a separate study of 373 agreements concluded since Taft-Hartley the National Industrial Conference Board reported special health provisions in a majority. In 25 agreements disability benefits for maternity were provided to cover a period of six weeks. In 17 other plans providing hospital insurance, only five provide maternity hospitalization benefits for women employees. Benefits varied from 10 to 14 days.

### Laws for Women Workers

Legislation which has improved the hours and working conditions of employees generally has been of benefit to women workers. Thus 24 states and the District of Columbia have laws requiring either an eight-hour day or a 40-48-hour week, or both. The maximum in 10 states is a nine-hour day and a 50-54-hour week; in seven states the maximums are 10 hours with 54-60 for the week. In five states, Alabama, Florida, Iowa, Indiana and West Virginia there are no limits, either daily or weekly.

In 43 states, the District of Columbia, Alaska and Puerto Rico there are special legal provisions of some kind for the protection of women. In most cases these laws indicate maximum daily and weekly working hours; a few also specifically prohibit night work.

One half of the states provide for a day of rest. There are minimum wage laws in 26 states. Regulations concerning rest and meal periods exist in 28 states.

All states have unemployment compensation provisions that apply to women also. A great number of women, however, are ineligible for this insurance since they are engaged in exempted activities. Thus, farm workers, teachers, government workers, household workers and employees of eleemosynary and non-profit institutions are not covered by these laws.

It is evident that the United States still has much to do to provide adequate incomes to the heads of families so that mothers can be released to take up their responsibilities in the home. Similarly, there is room for considerable advance in legal and private protection of women who must continue working.

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## The Goal of an Economy

In the domain of social economy the duty pressing for attention is the judicious adjustment of production to consumption on the basis of human needs and human dignity. In view of this urgency, the question which comes to the fore today is that of the organization and equipment of the social economy at its production-stage.

The solution of this question must not be sought from the theory of "laws of the market"—a purely positivistic by-product of neo-Kantian criticism — nor in the mere formula, every bit as artificial, of "full employment."

There before you is the problem on which we should like to see the theorists and practical men of the Catholic social movement concentrate their attention and bring their studies to bear.

Pius XII, Address to Catholic International Congresses for Social Study, June 3, 1950.

# SERMONS ON THE SOCIAL ORDER

John P. Delaney, S.J.

## XVI

### MAN AND SOCIETY: The Family—"For this shall a man leave mother and father..."

#### *The Vocation of Marriage*

So many elements today, tending to break down the Christian Family:

Planned Parenthood Association spending millions of dollars to spread their propaganda and their ideas.

A subtle, widespread insinuation that it is more important to have mothers in work than to have them at home caring for their families.

The large number of mothers of small children working all day long while the home is uncared for, children neglected.

Hasty, ill-considered marriage.

Spread of divorce, and the prominence given to divorces in newspaper coverage.

The prevalence of all sorts of humor against the family: on radio programs, in the comics, in magazines—mother-in-law jokes—rolling pin jokes, etc.—all of which undoubtedly develop in the mind of the young the idea that marriage is, to say the least, queer.

The growth of juvenile delinquency during the war period.

And yet, we know this: only on the solid foundation of the Christian family can real democracy be built.

Even the Church, for its healthy

functioning, must be based on fine Christian families.

So that today perhaps the most important task facing our country is the Christian formation of families: not only protecting the family against the evils facing it, but preparing a *positive* program of reconstruction based on spiritual foundations, and complete in the whole structure—emotional, physical, spiritual, psychological, economic, etc.

#### *The Approach*

##### *The Vocation of Marriage*

##### *The meaning of the word*

The living out of one's life in the way chosen, desired, blessed by God;

the use of all the ability man has

in the service of God

in the service of neighbor

in the *consecration* to God of our entire life.

##### *The restriction of the word*

We have been remiss or selfish in taking a grand word like vocation and applying it strictly to the religious or priestly vocation—most sermons on vocation deal with religious vocation

most boys and girls in schools seldom think the word vocation has any other meaning

the sad result is that all those who are not "called" to religious life are left with the discouraging sense that they have no vocation.

### *Is Marriage a Vocation?*

#### *The "calling"*

*The priest* — through his talents, motives, attraction

*The married people* — through talent, motives, attraction to each other.

Show the "calling" of God in the circumstances of meeting; in the traits of mind, body and soul that draw two people together; in the growth of love that gives them courage to become "two in one flesh."

It's God's own command. "For this shall man leave mother, father, etc. . . ."

"Whom God has joined together, let no man put asunder."

The "calling" is from God.

#### *The "consecration"*

Marriage certainly can be and often is a complete consecration of two lives to God.

*St. Paul* sanctified it in his comparison between the love of Christ for His Church and the love of husband and wife.

*Christ* sanctified it by making it a sacrament of which the young people are the ministers. They confer Christ on each other. It's

Christ Himself, the life of Christ, the Grace of Christ, that becomes the bond of union between husband and wife.

*The Church* continues to sanctify it. The wedding Mass—couple within sanctuary — on top step of altar they pledge their vows — Mass especially written for them—Mass interrupted in the Canon for special prayers—The marriage blessing—Maybe read here part of instruction before marriage.

#### *The grandeur of the Vocation*

To cooperate with God in the creation of human beings

To bring forth children of God, brothers of Christ, citizens of heaven

To bring up children in the image of God, to bring them up as other Christs.

Michelangelo worked on cold marble to produce his masterpieces.

A painter works on rough canvas.

A mother and father work in flesh and blood to produce other Christs.

#### *Today*

Need of spirit of vocation in marriage

Need of understanding of its importance

Need of appreciation of its sublimity

Need of *consecration* in marriage.

## XVII

### MAN AND SOCIETY: The Family — "What God has joined together, let no man put asunder."

#### *The Rights of the Family*

In our first sermon on the family, we spoke of the importance and sublimity of the vocation of marriage:

To carry out this sublime vocation and this high ideal of family living.

*Parents must strive to be saints* consecrating their lives to God in the service of children and family.

In his discourse at the Last Supper, Christ said: "I have sanctified myself *for them*," for His Apostles



In a similar way parents should be able to say of their children, "I am sanctifying myself for them, making myself a saint for them," with the realization that the greatest thing they can give their children is the example of their own sanctity and the unseen but infallible outpouring of their sanctity into the lives of their children.

If the saying saintly priests, saintly parish is true, then even more true should be the saying saintly parents, saintly children.

*Parents must be more than saints.*  
In a very true sense every parent must be a psychologist, an economist, a librarian, a religion teacher, a walking encyclopaedia, an inexhaustible fountain of stories and games and amusements, a movie, play and book critic, a chef, an interior decorator, an artist, a disciplinarian, a theologian, a doctor at least in the knowledge of ordinary first aid, a dietitian, a bookkeeper and budget balancer, a jack of all trades; an athlete and good sport, something of a master of some hobby or other, a peace-maker, consoler, an inspiration, etc.

These are the obligations of parents, which parents cannot fulfill unless the rights of parents and the family are respected:

A. *The right of a father to a living family wage:* There are economic and industrial difficulties aplenty in the way of achieving this ideal; but at least we should accept in principle the ideal expressed by the Bishops of England and Wales:

"The chief factors that should determine the amount of a man's wages are (1) an agreed standard of work, (2) the capacity of the industry to pay, (3) an agreed minimum average family, e.g., father, mother and three or four children.

When an employer cannot pay

this minimum wage, the difference should be made up. This could be done by industry pooling a percentage of all wages paid and sharing the proceeds according to needs; or, in default of this, by the State.

"A wife ought not be obliged to go out to work in order to bring the wages of a family up to a minimum living wage."

This should be our economic ideal: that any father of a family, willing and able to work, should receive from industry in return for his labor, all that is necessary to maintain his family in decent comfort.

#### B. *The right to a home*

1. The decencies of the home.  
Again to quote the English Bishops: "The minimum of living conditions for a family should be such that no one has to sleep in the living room; that there be satisfactory sanitation; that there be a bathroom for each family. Slums should be abolished. There is no excuse for slums."
2. A campaign may be necessary against the ever-growing number of landlords who will not rent homes and apartments to families with young children. Frequently parents are refused by landlord after landlord for the simple reason that they have young children.
3. Parents themselves must be encouraged to love *the home* and inculcate in the children a love of the home. A family needs a home of its own, but today so many people have lost all desire to own their own homes. They do not relish the responsibility of a furnace, of constant repairs, etc. Yet *love* of a home can hardly be expected to carry over to the ordinary apartment.

Things that help to a love of home:

- tasteful, personally chosen decorations
- garden plot for flowers or food
- a sharing of responsibility for the care of the home among the children
- carefully planned family recreation
- a willingness to invite friends of the children
- thoughtful celebration of family feasts
- a spiritual atmosphere in the home, etc.

C. *The right of education:* Parents have the right to educate and see to the education of their children. Hence they have, too, the obligation of educating their own children. This must be driven home against a double tendency of the day.

1. The tendency of the State to take over completely the education of the children, down through grade school to kindergarten and now down to the nursery schools for children of two years and older.
2. A willingness on the part of parents to turn over completely the education of their children to schools.

Insist that

the education of children, character education and education in religion is primarily the parents' responsibility;

even in school years, the parents have an obligation to watch over the education, to see the periods of study, to cooperate with teachers, to watch the formation of habits;

parents simply must be interested in the schools to which they entrust their children, in the curriculum, in the choice of teachers, etc., etc.; parents must continue to supervise their children's reading, recreation, choice of companions;

parents must see to it that their children receive the type of education best fitted to develop their talents, and to fit them for their place in life.

D. The right to a recognition of the vitally important role that parents play for the good of the nation and the good of the Church . . . bringing us back to our starting point—the importance and sublimity of the vocation of marriage.

Conclude the series by reading slowly and impressively the "Instruction Before Marriage" from the marriage rite.

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## Work and Vocation

Modern humanism hopes for a future in which life and work will be so simplified due to technology, that the human personality will find its due expression in the constructive use of a longer leisure time. Christianity is less optimistic here also, and closer to the realistic view of human nature, a human nature which education will not change but only grace can change. Man is not to develop his personality outside his work, but *in* his work. Personality, work, vocation, dignity are all integrated in the Christian man. Only thus can man make any contribution to a lasting civilization and culture. Technology has indeed progressed; leisure time grown, but man turned more beast than person in the process.

Ernst Florian Winter  
*Integrity*, May, 1950.

# { TRENDS }

## **Catholic Nurse-Training for Negroes**

Progress in all aspects of justice for the Negro has been remarkable during the past ten years. Just two years ago Father W. B. Faherty made a survey of progress achieved in Saint Louis during the previous fifteen years ("Pattern of Life," SOCIAL ORDER, [1948] 111-115) and found many noteworthy developments.

Change in the attitude of Catholic schools of nursing has paralleled improvements in other fields. Thus, during a ten-year period, 1939 to 1949, a total of 73 of the now 376 Catholic nursing schools in the country changed their admissions policies by removing restrictions excluding Negro candidates. These 73, together with schools which previous to 1939 had no policy of segregation, bring the total of non-segregated schools to 181, which is 48.2 per cent of all Catholic nursing schools in the United States.

Moreover, it is apparent that the trend is increasing. In the eight-year period, 1939-1946, only eight schools dropped restrictions, for an average of one school annually. In the succeeding three-year period, 1947-1949, 62 schools became non-segregated, for an average of almost 21 schools annually.

## **Far-Sighted Labor Education**

The ladies' garment workers union (ILGWU) opened a new type of school this year. In their New York headquarters 30 members of the union are attending classes in the new Training Institute. The school is intended to prepare future leaders of the union and to develop not only the skills needed for successful union operation, but an awareness of larger social responsibilities.

They follow a one-year course; seven months are devoted to class work and five to field work under the direction of experienced union officers. They are taught the rudiments of labor law, contract negotiations, union laws and rules, and other subjects needed for their future work.

Perhaps the most significant objective of the new Institute is its determination to

make union leaders see the problems of management and the larger, social implication of business decisions. Director Arthur A. Elder is quoted as saying, "Whatever will help them fit the union to play its part in society—that is what we want to teach them."

## **Two Rural Anniversaries**

Two important Catholic rural life organizations are celebrating anniversaries this year. The JAC, rural counterpart of the Young Christian Workers' movement is celebrating its 25th anniversary, and the Belgian Boerenbond, one of the strongest and most effective organizations of its kind in the world, recalls the 60th anniversary of its founding in 1890.

Established by a devoted Belgian priest, Rev. Mellaerts Ferrand, and two Catholic laymen, George Helleputte and Francis Schollaert, the Boerenbond has grown and prospered through the years. At the present time it not only serves as a professional organization of farmers but maintains co-operatives to supply them with all needed machines and materials and credit unions to supply funds.

In the principal organization there are about 100,000 Belgian farmers; an associate organization for wives of farmers has about 90,000 members. There are similar organizations for young men and women of rural families. The society is divided into more than 1,300 local guilds, directed by local parish clergy.

## **And Labor Anniversaries**

At the same time the Dutch Catholic Trade Union federation (KAB) is celebrating the 25th anniversary of its foundation. Although Catholic unions existed in the Netherlands for a much longer time, the 25 associations then in existence were united into a single federation in January, 1925.

Today the KAB numbers well over 300,000 members divided among the same 25 unions; in addition there is a diocesan trade-union organization in each of the five dioceses and a national headquarters



at Utrecht. In addition to the traditional trade-union activities, the KAB maintains a health cooperative, a magnificent sanatorium, "Berg en Bosch," near Bilthoven, a cultural institute, "Drakenburgh," near Hilversum, and a school for workers at Doorn. In Amsterdam the federation sponsors one of the largest Catholic daily newspapers, *De Volkskrant*, under the editorship of J. M. Lucker.

Mr. A. C. De Bruyn, president of the KAB, was honored on the occasion of the anniversary by being made a Commander of the Order of Orange-Nassau by Queen Juliana.

In September of this year the Jocist movement is celebrating its 25th anniversary. It is expected that more than 100,000 members from 40 nations will meet in Brussels, September 3 to 10, for the occasion.

### 5-year G.M.-U.A.W. Contract

The five-year contract signed May 23 between General Motors and the United Automobile Workers is the second important, significant advance in industrial relations made by these two groups in recent years. The first was the cost-of-living, annual-improvement-factor contract agreed upon on May 25, 1948, (see "Wages and Cost of Living," SOCIAL ORDER, 1 [1948] 367-70).

The most significant point about the new contract is its duration. With five years of peace assured, General Motors will be spared disruptions and interruptions involved in negotiations and strikes. Moreover, labor costs will be known in advance so that economic planning will be surer. The whole process of planning and production will be carried on in an atmosphere of security and certainty.

For workers the new contract means five years of assured employment at assured (and steadily rising wages), free from the uncertainties of annual renegotiations of contracts and possible strikes. The four-cents-an-hour increase from improved productivity, together with the clause which continues cost-of-living rises in wages, assure them of a steadily improving level of living.

All these features seem guaranteed for the duration of the contract by an iron-clad stipulation prohibiting reopening of the contract even over new issues that

escaped "the knowledge or contemplation of either or both parties at the time that they negotiated or signed the contract."

Some important features of the contract are:

1. Minimum pensions of \$100 monthly including Federal benefits for 65-year-old 25-year employees. Those with ten years of service will receive pensions at the same age amounting to \$4 for each year of service, including Federal benefits. In general, minimum payment is \$1.50 for each year of service, hence increase in Federal pensions will mean increased income for full-term pensioners.

2. The "annual improvement factor" is increased from three cents an hour to four. This increase derives from expected increases in productivity.

3. The cost-of-living clause, whereby wages are adjusted quarterly at the rate of one cent an hour for each 1.14 change in the Consumers' Price Index, ties wages to the cost of living and will protect workers from loss in real wages caused by increased cost of living. Rates cannot drop below 1948 level, however low cost of living may decline.

4. Retirement for disability at 50 after 15 years of service. Pensions range from \$50 to \$90 monthly according to length of employment.

5. A modified union-shop clause requires present members to remain in the union for duration of the contract; non-members are not required to join. New employees must join within 90 days and must retain membership for one year.

### Semaine Sociale de France

The sessions of the 37th Semaine Sociale were held at Nantes, on the heel of Brittany, July 18 to 23. General subject of the sessions was, "The Rural World in the Modern Economy."

Despite the general title, which seemed to indicate an emphasis upon the relationships between rural economy and the total national and world economy, 14 of the 18 principal papers considered exclusively rural problems. The president of the Semaines Sociales, M. Charles Fleury, spoke on the need for modernization; M. Frédéric Genévrey, a practicing farmer, spoke on the different types of farms: commercial, family, communal; M. Pierre Coutin discussed technological developments.

Other topics included French Agriculture in the National and in World Economy, Rural and National Income, demographic and psychological changes, farm workers, professional organizations, rural women, rural youth. Father Serve, of L'Action Populaire, read a paper on The Modern Village.

### Pension Advance

Significant progress in the problem of pensions was made during the summer when two UAW locals in the Detroit area reached an agreement with members of the Automotive Tool and Die Manufacturing Association whereby union members may transfer from one plant to another without losing pension credit.

In most pension systems an employee retains his service credit toward pensions only so long as he is employed by the company with which the pension was instituted. If he leaves their employment he may, in most cases, withdraw funds he has contributed, but he loses all right to a future pension.

The area-wide agreement in Detroit now makes it possible for a worker to transfer from one company to another and to retain his pension rights. This is of particular value when lay-offs are frequent and transfers necessary.

Another noteworthy feature of the agreement is that retirement is not mandatory at 65; the worker may continue in employment if he desires.

### American Labor Relations

Frequent reports of strikes and of barely-averted strikes give us the impression that relations between workers and management in the United States are commonly bad. To a great extent this is due to the commonplace that good conduct is never news, so that thousands of industries in which good feelings exist are never mentioned.

How small a factor work stoppages are in the entire picture of industrial relations can be judged from the fact that in what was probably the worst strike year in American history, 1946, when some 4.6 million workers were involved in strikes at one time or another, only 1.43 per cent of available working days of all workers was lost through strikes.

Recent foreign observers have been favorably impressed by labor-management

relations in the United States. Professor Jean Fourastié, of the Conservatory of Arts and Crafts, Paris, and president of a Commission on Productivity, remarked of reports submitted by French observers sent to the United States to study American productivity:

It is significant to observe that the authors of the Report [specifically that on the electrical industry], all of whom are technicians, are nevertheless of the opinion *that the human factors must be given first place in accounting for high American productivity*, and not, as is frequently done when we think of Trans-Atlantic efficiency, the superiority of technical equipment. (Italics added.)

This is extraordinary comment from foreign observers who must have been greatly impressed also by American technological power.

### Study Migratory Workers

The plight of the migratory farm worker has long been a vexing problem in the United States (SOCIAL ORDER, 2 [April, 1949] 157-162). Attention was turned to them during the depression when the Tolan Committee was set up to investigate interstate traffic in poor workers, but little improvement, save in immigration regulations, resulted. During World War II thousands of workers were imported, especially from Mexico and Puerto Rico, to swell the ranks of available farm laborers; importations continue at the present time.

President Truman recently announced the appointment of a five-man commission to study the whole question of migratory laborers in the United States, as well as the immigration questions involved in the problem. Archbishop Robert E. Lucey has been named a member of the commission.

### Three Important Decisions

The U. S. Supreme Court in three recent decisions has done a great deal to break down the legal protection of racial prejudice and the consequent disabilities of racial minorities.

In the Sweatt case the University of Texas was compelled to accept a Negro student into its law school because neither of the schools available for Negroes was equal either in the measurable facilities or in the imponderable criteria of prestige,

traditions, standing in the community, etc.

The University of Oklahoma was compelled, in another decision, to eliminate all forms of segregation that would make more difficult the studies of a Negro candidate for a graduate degree. The opinion stated: "There is a vast difference—a constitutional difference—between restrictions imposed by the State which prohibit the intellectual commingling of students, and the refusal of individuals to commingle where the State presents no such bar."

The third case concerned discrimination against Negroes on southern railroads, especially in the dining cars. Declaring that segregation of Negroes was unconstitutional, the Court declared: "The curtains, partitions and signs emphasize the artificiality of a difference in treatment which serves only to call attention to a racial classification of passengers holding identical tickets and using the same public dining facility."

### Pisa

During Easter week, April 10 to 14, 1950, more than 100 priests of the Philippines, gathered from 15 dioceses and 25 civil provinces, met at the Ateneo de Manila for a five-day Priests' Institute for Social Action (PISA).

Organized under the direction of Father James J. McGinley, the Institute presented three classes daily, a series of "quickie" talks, periods for discussion, evening lectures and motion pictures on social topics.

The Institute was intended to implement the 1949 joint pastoral letter of the Philippines hierarchy on "Social Security" and the address delivered before the Knights of Columbus by the Apostolic Delegate late in the same year. Classes, lectures and discussion sought to translate the principles of these two documents into practical programs for pastors and others working with the faithful.

### Negroes in Constitution Hall

The D.A.R. made unpleasant history for themselves some years ago by refusing to open the doors of Constitution Hall in Washington for a concert by Marian Anderson, the celebrated Negro contralto. The prohibition was reversed last May when the final recitals in a music contest sponsored by the Hamilton National Bank

were held there.

Among the finalists were two talented young Negro students of Dunbar High School, Fan Nell Daniels and Barbara Kemp. The triumph was made complete when Miss Daniels won first place in the contest.

### Austrian Family Allowances

By virtue of a law passed on December 16, 1949, effective January 1, 1950, financing of family allowances in Austria was transferred from general government funds to a special payroll tax. From a two percent tax upon all payrolls the government returns to each employer sufficient funds to assign 37 schillings (\$2.50) monthly to each employee for each dependent child.

No information is given in the report at hand about the method of financing family allowances for the self-employed or the unemployed. The present system in Austria is similar in many respects to the system employed in France before World War II, except that all funds are paid into a single government-managed pool, instead of into industrial pools.

### Priest Fined

Under a law recently passed in the Union of South Africa to prohibit marriages between Europeans and non-Europeans Rev. Thomas Gill, a Catholic priest, was recently fined £20. He had violated the law, earlier denounced by the South African hierarchy, by assisting at the marriage of a European to a "slightly colored" woman, the London *Catholic Herald* reports. Father Gill is the first clergyman acted against under the law.

### Catholics Oust Communist M.P.

To Catholics, organized through their lay groups, was attributed a major part in the defeat of William Gallacher, only Communist member of the recently-ended Parliament in England. Gallacher represented the constituency of West Fife, in Scotland, a strong, Communist mining center. Using techniques that resembled the activities of Italy's Civic Committees, lay Catholics contacted voters throughout the thinly-populated area. Two weeks before elections they gathered more than 1,000 for a rally at which Douglas Hyde, converted former news editor of the *Daily Worker*, was principal speaker.



# { BOOKS }

RODUCTION AND WELFARE OF AGRICULTURE. — By Theodore W. Schultz. Macmillan, N. Y., 1949, vii, 225 pp. \$3.50.

*Production and Welfare of Agriculture* is in large part a restatement and development of Professor Schultz's previous work, *Agriculture in an Unstable Economy*. The dominant ideas of the earlier work still hold first place here: that farm problems must be studied within the framework of the whole economy; and that from an economic standpoint the two basic farm problems are those of underemployment of resources and instability of income.

For Dr. Schultz, an expanding economy, with increasing job opportunities and greater demand for farm products, is the basic answer to the problem of chronic labor surplus and depressed incomes in agriculture. Moreover, community and industrial planning of new industries can provide off-farm and off-season employment. Together with a shift within agriculture from labor-extensive to labor-intensive products (milk instead of cotton, meat instead of grains), such developments could make possible full utilization of human resources and raise incomes to acceptable standards. And if these terms sound too coldly economic, they can be stated in terms of better pay, better living and better family life.

In the present farm program Dr. Schultz notes a failure to grasp the difference between means and ends. Farm price supports, for instance, were originally designed as a sort of safety net to catch farm prices in case of disaster. Now parity is being used as a sort of sky hook to keep prices up in the clouds.

In discussing the Brannan Plan, Dr. Schultz points out certain advantages the Secretary's proposals offer over the present program. Perishable commodities which alone would be covered by "production payments") could once more move freely in the market, and such foods could reach consumers at their "natural" price, determined by supply and demand. A new base for parity computation and a new list of commodities would eliminate

many maladjustments imposed by the present legislation. Finally, production payments would be a big step away from the concealed dumping of farm products into which our policy has drifted.

But in light of the report that ideas previously expressed by Dr. Schultz formed the basis of the Brannan Plan, it is interesting to note that he charges it with serious deficiencies. In his own words:

The Brannan proposal has one basic defect . . . and that is a serious overvaluation of farm products. . . . It may be noted, also, at this point that the proposal is not conceived as a counter cyclical measure. Then, too, it would probably increase rather than diminish the income inequality that exists within agriculture. Like all price support approaches it does not come to grips with the widespread and socially significant problem of poverty embedded within agriculture. Instead, like other pricing measures in this field it proposes to give economic benefits principally to those farmers in agriculture who are normally fairly well up on the American income ladder. (p. 177)

Dr. Schultz also points out that while under the Secretary's proposal consumer's choice would be free and active in the distribution of perishable products already produced, in the case both of perishable and of more durable products, consumer's choice would be seriously impaired in its function of directing future allocation of agricultural resources. Politics being what it is, government attempts to direct shifts in production patterns will always meet stiff opposition and can be largely nullified. Witness the attempt to control potato production through acreage allotments.

There are two questions which this reviewer would raise concerning Dr. Schultz's treatment of the farm problem. First, without apparent concern he accepts increasing governmental activity and tightening administrative controls. Some would rather look for the solution of agriculture's problems in other, non-governmental means—say through some application of the industry-council. That possibility remains to be explored.

Second, Dr. Schultz's view of the farm problem is deeply colored by rather dubious population assumptions. There might have been reason in the early 1940's to suppose that the U. S. population was at the point of stabilizing or even declining. But by 1949 the facts and the pattern of population growth had invalidated such assumptions. As a result, a fundamental revision of Dr. Schultz's long-term farm policy seems called for.

JAMES L. VIZZARD, S.J.  
Georgetown University

**THE CONSTITUTION AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHANGE:** The Thomas M. Cooley Lectures, First Series.—By Henry Rottschaefer. University of Michigan Law School, Ann Arbor, 1948, 236 pp. \$3.50.

It used to be with a certain amount of aplomb that lawyers asserted the Constitution to be what the Supreme Court says it is. Now, that assurance seems to be somewhat shattered. There is evidence of worry that the Court is no longer adapting the Constitution "to the various crises of human affairs," as Marshall demanded, but that various crises are compelling the Court to interpret the Constitution to suit popular pressure. The dangers inherent in such a reversal of the process are obvious.

In this series of lectures Professor Rottschaefer examines the judicial decisions of the New Deal to discover whether the crisis of the 30's has led the Court to strain the Constitution. He successfully shows how these decisions have vastly expanded the Federal powers, relaxed the constitutional limitations on the states and given to government an intensive and extensive regulatory power over business; but he leaves the answer to the fundamental question hanging. "Time alone can tell," he says, whether the new governmental powers of economic planning can be made compatible with other civil and political freedoms. He shows it to be a fact that the only new restraints placed upon government have been in the field of personal civil liberties, but it is not too difficult to show how slight and tenuous these restrictions are.

If the lectures were a little heavy, compensation was more than had from the thorough and penetrating treatment of the subject. The published form should be of

immense value to those interested in modern constitutional law.

P. A. WOELFL, S.J.  
Loyola University

**LEAVES FROM A RUSSIAN DIARY—AND THIRTY YEARS AFTER.**

By Pitirim A. Sorokin. The Beacon Press, Boston, 1950, ix, 346 pp. \$3.50.

"The Disillusionment of an Intellectual" would be a suitable and quite appropriate sub-title for this eye-witness account of the Russian Revolution. It was just such a process, though gradual, for Dr. Sorokin.

The beginning of the Revolution, Kerensky's regime, Lenin's arrival, mob violence, Communist arrest and killing of true liberals—all affected and influenced the author, and are recounted graphically. Finally, in his forest hide-out near Archangel he realized "... the utter futility of all Revolution, the vanity of all Socialism and Communism. . . . I am no longer a Revolutionist, because Revolution is catastrophe." (p. 172) This is the climax of his disillusionment.

In subsequent chapters Prof. Sorokin gives us a personalized account of the selfishness, inhumanity and ruthlessness of the Communists. He describes the devastation of the 1921 famine, the slow strangulation of freedom and intellectual activity and finally his own deportation and exile.

The last section (part V), however, entitled "Thirty Years After," is a mature 1950 appraisal of 1920 events. SOCIAL ORDER readers will be most interested in this part. It is a detailed analysis of the Revolution as "a gigantic success and a colossal failure." (p. 313)

The author's fundamental thesis is that the Revolution is only a manifestation (along with the two World Wars) of the decadence and disintegration of Western culture. The Revolution is a success, because it has overcome many powerful enemies, because of its universal extension, its unlimited scope and present day influence. It is a failure, because it "has not produced any genius of either first or even second class." (p. 317) This Prof. Sorokin proves unquestionably, citing facts, names, dates and statistics relative to all the fields of Art, Science and Philosophy.

Aimed at starting a new, better society, the Revolution has succeeded only in recreating an old institution, the totalitarian police-state.

This revised edition of a very human book is well worth reading. It is an indictment of all revolution based on hatred; it calls for a revolution based on love. The author's motivation is a highly idealistic humanitarianism. Only one further step is needed—elevate this humanitarianism into love of God and thus all men in Him, the aim of God's Church.

JOHN J. HOODACK, S.J.  
Weston College

MAN AND THIS MYSTERIOUS UNIVERSE.—By Brynjolf Bjorset. Philosophical Library, New York, 1949, 174 pp. \$3.75.

Here is an example of Pantheism built upon a theory of vibrations. Everything in the book is viewed from such a vantage point. As I write, for example, I am supposed to be bombarded with and simultaneously be bombarded by vibrations from every conceivable thing—even mind and will. It is an interesting observation, but the completely pantheistic follow-up makes man just an interwoven part of the Universal Vibration. Add to this, ignorance of a final aim or purpose in life and you can see what happens—one just vibrates. That is the substance of the message the author wishes to preach to a progressive world. All of it is drafted under the aegis of Science.

Mr. Bjorset then does the reader the courtesy of peeking behind religious "Symbols and Dogmas" to give them a proper meaning. One word describes the effort, "blasphemous." It is the usual confusion and denial of revealed truth that lurks in the soul-savagery of Modernism and the easy generalizing of pseudo-historic comparative—religionists.

There is no hell in Bjorset's scheme save the anguish of soul one causes himself. Science has the job of raising man to the stature of gods. When it does so, science then will become religion. Obviously dogmas must be dropped. His platform of education likewise is aimless, resolving itself into mere discovery with nobody knowing why, whence, or how much.

The author is a Swedish traveler of 30 years experience. His study of Eastern mysticism accounts for his pantheistic trend; dabbling in psychology and psychoanalysis, for his vibratory aberration. But no one would call him a philosopher, a

scientist, a historian, or theologian, or even for that matter, a good writer.

CYRIL O. SCHOMMER, S.J.  
Weston College

FIVE LECTURES ON ECONOMIC PROBLEMS. — By George J. Stigler. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1950, 65 pp. \$1.75.

The five lectures which comprise the slender volume were delivered at the London School of Economics and Political Science. The author is a professor of economics at Columbia University.

"The Economists and Equality" is the title of the first lecture. The equality here referred to is equality of income. In this lecture the author contrasts the classical and modern treatment of this subject. For the classical economists, greater equality of income was a secondary goal; the primary goal was development of the individual personality through the institution of private property. Moderns, on the contrary, are greatly preoccupied with equality of income. Many regard inequality as the greatest injustice. But the author finds their argumentation defective. He, himself, believes the goal of greater equality should be approached indirectly.

The second lecture is entitled "Monopolistic Competition in Retrospect." In it Professor Stigler examines the efforts of Chamberlin and Triffin to augment and complete the neo-classical analysis of price. In his opinion, their efforts failed for reasons which he explains. However, he believes economic analysis was enriched by their studies.

In the third lecture, "The Classical Economics: An Alternative View," Professor Stigler demonstrates that the vaunted superiority of modern economic analysis over that of the old classical economists is more imaginary than real, especially in the examination of concrete problems. Furthermore, there is good reason to believe that many points of discussion which we find in modern treatises were omitted by the old economists, simply because they were not interested in them.

"The Mathematical Method in Economics" is the subject-matter of the next lecture. In it the author admits the usefulness of mathematics in economics, but he denies the all-inclusive importance which many moderns attribute to it. His view is a very sane one.



The last lecture treats of "Competition in the United States." Here the author examines the familiar charge that monopoly is increasing and competition declining. His conclusions are anything but alarming. Several charts and an appendix are attached to this lecture.

It is not probable that these lectures will appeal to any reader who is not a professional economist. And the economist will find them more pedestrian than brilliant.

CORNELIUS A. ELLER, S.J.  
ISS

**A MAN CALLED WHITE: THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF WALTER WHITE.** — By Walter White. The Viking Press, New York, 1948, 382 pp. \$3.75.

"... Woodward was led by his cousin into my office for the first time. Faltering with the unsureness of the newly blinded, Woodward extended his hand in greeting, pathetically attempting to find my hand through the sound of my voice. 'I saw you, Mr. White, when you visited my outfit in the Pacific,' he told me, 'I could see then.'"

So ends the story of young Navy veteran, Isaac Woodward, dragged from a bus in the summer of 1946, falsely charged with being drunk and disorderly, brutally beaten and blinded for life by the chief of police of a small South Carolina town. Woodward was a Negro.

"The Man Called White" is a book filled with such accounts, vividly written and well authenticated, taken mostly from the personal experiences of the author. Walter White is a Negro by choice. His hair is blond; his eyes are blue; there is but a very small amount of Negro blood in his veins. For him, passing would have been no problem, but he chose to be known as a Negro in order to help Negroes. From the time he left his Atlanta home in 1918 the life of Walter White has been bound up with the NAACP. Consequently, his autobiography is not merely the story of one man but of the accomplishments and struggles of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The book is not an analysis of the Negro problem but an action story bristling with eye-witness accounts of race riots, lynching mobs, court room scenes and

political meetings. Into the story come many famous figures, Franklin Roosevelt, Wendell Willkie, Mayor La Guardia and a host of others, all close acquaintances or intimate friends of the author. Of particular interest are the accounts of the author's travels along the battle fronts of World War II and his descriptions of the Negro's treatment in the Armed Forces.

The picture of prejudice and discrimination given by the book is distressing but there is no bitterness in it. White is a pains to call attention to signs of progress toward equality and justice for the Negro.

This book will be read with great interest and profit by anyone who enjoys an exciting story, be he a student of the Negro problem or not.

WILLIAM J. RIMES, S.J.  
St. Mary's College

**A HOOK IN LEVIATHAN: A critical interpretation of the Hoover Commission Report.**—By Bradley D. Nash and Cornelius Lynde. Macmillan, New York, 1950, xix, 234 pp. \$3.00.

This book is not a popularization. It is a closely reasoned analysis of the broad principles underlying the report of the Hoover Commission and of some of its more important recommendations. However, the book is so written as not to presuppose a reading of the original findings. It serves at once as a condensation and critical commentary of the Hoover Commission Reports.

The authors at times prefer minority reports or even task-force recommendations passed over by the Commission. In their criticism of some agencies they transcend the bounds which the Commission set for itself. Thus, for example, they urge the immediate need for Congressional consideration of stand-by legislation in case of war; whereas the Hoover Commission restricted itself to a criticism of the organization and methods of the National Security Council. These deviations add to the practical value of the work.

As a whole, this criticism of the Hoover Commission reports is positive, cogent, and admirably balanced, considering its brevity. The authors make an impressive plea for the urgency of the reforms suggested, arguing that our present problems, foreign and domestic, can be better handled if we set our administrative household in order

assigning causes for the delay in implementing the findings of the Commission, they contend that the major fault lies with the President who has failed to make full use of the power of the Executive Order and has been dilatory in submitting legislative recommendations.

GEORGE A. CURRAN, S.J.  
West Baden College

## PROBLEMS AND EMOTIONAL DIFFICULTIES OF NEGRO CHILDREN.

—By Regina M. Goff. Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, 1949, 93 pp. \$2.10.

This 1946 study of the special problems Negroes face because of prejudice and discrimination is based on interviews with 50 Negro children. They were 10-12 years of age, of both sexes, of upper- and lower-income groups, of varying degrees of skin color, and from two cities—New York and St. Louis. Purpose of the survey was to find out what problems prejudice posed for Negro children, how they reacted both emotionally and overtly in such situations, and whether Negro parents were training their children to meet such situations. There were some parental interviews too, but these formed a minor part of the survey.

The study seems on the whole to have been intelligently conducted. The author combined careful use of recognized procedures and analysis with a refreshing fund of common sense in assembling and interpreting data.

The book shows conclusively that almost every Negro child meets unpleasant race situations, regardless of his geographical situation, sex, economic status or skin color. Very often on such occasions, ranging all the way from indirect disparagement (e.g., the stereotyped radio-movie portrayal of Negroes as funny, stupid and servant-class) to physical violence, the colored youngsters felt like fighting or arguing, but ended up by withdrawing from the scene. The survey makes clear as day that neither Negro children or parents have very definite ideas as to how to meet these problems. 73% of them thought churches were ineffective here.

This book is of worth to two groups: to psychologists, for its evidence of the pre-adolescent effects of prejudice on young minds and hearts; to those who deal with Negro

children, for its proof that such children need "training which places more emphasis on the building of attitudes of self-esteem, self-respect and self-confidence." Its semi-technical presentation will probably dissuade general readers.

NICHOLAS H. RIEMAN, S.J.  
West Baden College

## WESTERN POLITICAL HERITAGE.—

By William Y. Elliott and Neil A. McDonald. Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York, 1949, 1001 pp. \$9.00.

To regard this book as a general history of political thought, a conclusion apt to be reached because of the chronological organization of its material, would do a grave injustice to its authors. Their purpose is much more serious. They are justifiably alarmed by the growing conviction that our traditional American political beliefs—which Professor Elliott in another work (*The Constitution Reconsidered*, Conyers Read, ed., 1938) has called the "American Social Myths" — cannot withstand either the scrutiny of science or the pressure of newer ideologies. In the wake of disillusionment, then, it seems logical to ask who it was that sold us these absurd ideas of state sovereignty, imprescriptible rights and fictional egalitarianism, and where we are to find the elements of a sounder philosophy.

The clue to the answers is presumably to be found in the historic development of ideas. The co-authors have, accordingly, attempted to cull those passages from the great political tracts of all times which treat of the nature of law, government, rights and political institutions. To help the reader in his study of these excerpts, an essay has been written to introduce each of the 15 divisions into which the material is divided. It is these essays which give the whole book its unity.

The fact that no two persons will be entirely satisfied with the selections printed is of secondary moment. The important question is whether the authors of the essays have discovered the sources of our present philosophic confusion and developed a defense against the totalitarianism which now appears to be logically inevitable.

While rejecting the pseudo-science of Marxian dialectics, the atomistic individualism of Locke and the utilitarians, the pluralism of Godwin and Laski, the scien-

tific positivism of Comte, and the *élitism* of Pareto and Mosca, no coherent and consistent answer is found to the fundamental question of "What is the place of the absolute in ethics and politics?" (p. 848) The best that is offered is Kant's "moral law based on rationality and a good will," which is clearly no absolute at all. (cf. p. 852) Unless something better is relied on there is no criterion for condemning the above systems or for drawing the line between liberty and order under law.

The book admirably serves its purpose of projecting the problem of modern constitutionalism against a background of history. A real effort is made to treat all systems and events sympathetically. Yet, in spite of the evident scholarship and learning, one is occasionally shocked by some such lapse as, "The exact beginnings of the Church are not exactly clear." (p. 289)

The book has already achieved deserved recognition. No student of constitutionalism can well afford to neglect it. In all probability its use will not be restricted to that specific topic but will supplement the study of both history and theory.

P. WOELFEL, S.J.  
Loyola, Chicago

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CURRENT TRENDS IN INDUSTRIAL PSYCHOLOGY.—A Symposium. University of Pittsburgh Press, 1949, 198 pp. \$3.75.

The book consists of "eight lectures under the auspices of the department of Psychology in the College of the University of Pittsburgh delivered during February 18 and 19, 1949 in the Stephen Collins Foster Memorial."

Very briefly the thought content of the lectures is this: the impact of the professional psychologist on industry has been slight; it is now increasing and this trend is likely to continue. A number of indications are given of how the psychologist can contribute through the employment of present-day tests and methods, but a caution is added: the psychologist must broaden his horizon beyond the minutiae of tests, if he is to make his influence felt in the field of personnel psychology. The value of non-directive counseling is acknowledged, sometimes directly and sometimes by implication.

Some psychologists, laboratory trained and employed, will be displeased by remarks

that could be construed as slurs on their means of livelihood. Quotations will illustrate: "The research approach to the human problems in industrial organization is a long and tedious and, at times, difficult road. Solutions will not appear miraculously as we turn a corner. They will come thru systematic referral back to the world of real fact... The research approach in this field demands a freedom from what A. Leighton has called the stereotype-minded conception of human affairs... At some point in our group organization we must rely upon human beings and not upon formalized procedures." (p. 169). "Rigorous research methods are readily applied to constructing a battery of serviceable employment tests; demonstrating the superiority of a particular union-management policy is quite another matter. This contrast is a particularly troublesome one for psychologists — at any rate for the religiously 'scientific' psychologists. Psychology has prided itself on being a *science*—a laboratory, experimental, precise science. Its practitioners are happiest when they can read objective response measurements from a handsome brass-recording instrument... This predilection for the 'scientific' has led most psychologists to avoid the large, intricate and amorphous questions so typical of interpersonal and intergroup relations in the real world." (p. 181) "The number of relatively trivial studies which give static descriptions of unimportant phenomena concerning restricted and atypical populations is already more than sufficient." (p. 189)

The names and positions of the eight lecturers are essential to a review of the book. They are: 1. Wayne Dennis, professor of psychology and head of the department, University of Pittsburgh; 2. John C. Flanagan, professor of psychology, University of Pittsburgh, and president, American Institute of Research; 3. Carroll L. Shartle, professor of psychology and executive secretary of the Personnel Research Board, Ohio State University; 4. Orlo L. Crissey, associate in Personnel Development Research, General Motors Institute; 5. William McGehee, director of Personnel Research and Training, Fieldcrest Mills, Marshall Field and Co.; 6. Brent Baxter, assistant to vice-president in charge, Chesapeake and Ohio Railway; 7. Daniel Katz, professor of psychology, and program director of the Survey Research Center



University of Michigan; 8. Harold C. Taylor, director, The W. E. Upjohn Institute for Community Research.

The book, then, does not offer final solutions but rather gives leads which the future may develop into valuable contributions. To each lecture is appended a bibliography and equipped with this an interested reader will be able to pursue an independent investigation. The price of the book is excessive.

R. R. LEFEBVRE, S.J.  
West Baden College

THE UNITED STATES AND THE RESTORATION OF WORLD TRADE. — By William Adams Brown, Jr. The Brookings Institution, Washington, D. C., 1950, xiii, 572 pp. \$5.00.

This scholarly volume is by no means suitable for casual reading, but it most certainly will be of value to the serious student of international economic relations, and it should be added to the library of every teacher of international trade relations.

The book is devoted to two important recent documents relating to international economic co-operation and reconstruction, namely, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and the Charter for an International Trade Organization, both of which are honest attempts to facilitate international exchange of the world's resources and commodities on a non-discriminatory basis and thereby to remove some of the economic causes of world conflict.

The author gives a full account of the historical steps which culminated in the formulation of these instruments. He then proceeds to explain, in great detail, their provisions and their implications. And finally he submits them to careful appraisal. A lengthy appendix provides a text of the Charter rearranged by the author in an analytical form that greatly facilitates study of it. A handier reference for those who must make frequent use of the Charter can scarcely be conceived.

When one has thoroughly studied this volume there is little or nothing that one does not know about these two instruments of international economic co-operation. Furthermore, it is very encouraging to study such serious manifestations of an international desire to make the world a

workable economic organism.

CORNELIUS A. ELLER, S.J.  
ISS

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND EDUCATION. — By Hollis P. Allen, McGraw-Hill, 1950, xvii, 333 pp. \$4.00.

This book is a remarkably thorough and well organized study of the character, extent, and organization of activities of the federal government in education, done at the Brookings Institution for the Hoover Commission. Nowhere else can be found such an encyclopedia of information about federal educational activities as Dr. Allen here provides.

The reader soon discovers that the federal government is in the education business in a large way. One indication is the expenditure in 1949 of approximately three and a half billion dollars on programs directly or indirectly affecting education in the educational institutions of the country. Even though almost three billion of that sum was for the education of veterans, there still remains a tidy half billion for other programs.

More amazing than the cost of the federal programs is the fact that there is scarcely a federal department or agency that does not have its finger in education. No less than fourteen departments and agencies, as well as dozens of subagencies, operate programs having a bearing on elementary and secondary education; nineteen have programs carried on in regular institutions of higher education. Such multiplicity might not of itself be reprehensible, were there proper co-ordination of the diversified operations. But such co-ordination is generally lacking. The reason suggested by the author is a fear on the part of the American public and its representatives of centralizing too much power over education in one departmental head, an expression of the deeper conviction that education is primarily a local and state concern.

The result, according to Dr. Allen, of letting each federal subdivision go its own way in matters educational has been, first of all, overemphasis on specialized programs, such as vocational education in the high schools and research in natural sciences in institutions of higher education, and consequently interference with proper balance in school curricula. Thus, thanks to federal subsidy of vocation education, New

York state has five staff members in the field of agricultural education serving approximately 20,500 students, but only one supervisor of English in secondary schools serving approximately a million students in that subject. Secondly, there has been some needless overlapping in federal-supported programs, as in the case of the 4-H Club program sponsored by the Department of Agriculture and the Future Farmers of America program sponsored by the vocational education division of the Office of Education. Thirdly, federal departments and agencies with educational programs have too often bypassed state departments of education and dealt directly with the schools, thus weakening the standing of the departments of education. Fourthly, local and state officials have had to deal with a confusing multiplicity of federal organizations — some universities report dealings with at least twenty-five different governmental agencies and subagencies — each with its own methods of operating.

And the remedy? This study considers the establishment of a non-partisan National Board of Education advisory to the Commissioner of Education "an essential first in our reorganization of education on the federal level." It also recommends, among other things, that the Office of Education be set up as an independent agency; further, that it be so strengthened in prestige, personnel, and budgetary support that it will become the responsible agency for all federal activities concerning elementary, secondary, and higher education, unless in particular cases evidence is clear-cut to the contrary. Even in such exceptional cases, according to the author, the Office of Education "should have a well-defined co-ordinating or educational service function in connection therewith" and "should be a source of professional educational service to all agencies involved in educational matters."

Although this study was the source of the Task Force Report on education, the Hoover Commission in reporting to Congress did not make its own all these recommendations. It said nothing about a National Board of Education. Instead of an independent agency for education, it recommended the establishment of a new Department of Federal Security and Education, which would also handle Indian Affairs. It did, true, list the variety of federal agencies in education and note the disadvantages

resulting from such a dispersal of operations. It even reported that "there are those who believe that these various educational programs should be concentrated in the Office of Education," but for itself it went on to say:

This Commission believes, however, that these educational programs must be administered by the agencies whose functions the particular programs serve to promote. The new department, however, should analyze the effects of expenditures and programs relating to education and assist the President in making recommendations to the Congress for the correction of deficiencies. . . .

Although agreeing heartily with the need to strengthen the Office of Education and to eliminate the more flagrant inefficiencies in the present federal educational programs, this reviewer, like the Hoover Commission is unwilling to go the full way with Dr. Allen's recommendations. That the Office needs to be strengthened is clear; that the process should be a cautious and gradual one seems no less clear. The harm resulting from the centralization in one agency of great power over large federal funds—and that an independent agency—could be so disastrous that every step in the direction of increased centralization should be made with the greatest caution and deliberation.

A good beginning has already been made in the development of the 1944 plan for reorganization of the Office of Education; much remains to be done. Certainly, much more generous financial support of the Office of Education will accelerate the full realization of that plan and of the Office's position of national leadership in education within the limits of the functions assigned to it. If, further, the last recommendation of the Hoover Commission quoted above is carried out persistently and publicized duly, steady improvement in the stature of the Office of Education and in the whole organization of federal educational activities may be looked for. In effect, the recommendation seems to propose that the Office of Education take as one of its functions the periodical publication of a study similar to the volume here under review. If the Office of Education does as good a job as Dr. Allen has done, it will command hearing and get action.

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West Baden Springs, Indiana



# Worth Reading

William Solzbacher, "Plant Councils in Belgium," *America*, July 22, 1950, pp. 418-420.

A survey of developments of plant councils since passage of the 1948 law (SOCIAL ORDER, February, 1949, 49-68).

William H. Davis, "From Strikes to Reasoning," *The Survey*, 86 (June, 1950) 285-288.

A brief review of ideas and procedures leading to industrial peace in the U. S.

Léon de Sousberghe, S.J., "Propriété 'de Droit Naturel'," *Nouvelle Revue Théologique*, 72 (June, 1950) 580-607.

An excellently documented examination of the scholastic tradition on the question of a natural right to private property.

Rene Cercler, "Towards a New Agriculture," *Measure*, 1 (Spring, 1950) 142-151.

A French agricultural expert uses the occasion of Vogt's *The Road to Survival* to recommend a peasant-type agriculture for the U. S.

M. J. MacCormac, "Price Maintenance—or Competition," *Irish Quarterly*, 78 (July, 1950) 319-326.

A clear, easily-understood discussion of fair-standards practices of obligatory retail prices.

Donald McDonald, "A Rural Life Program," *Commonweal*, 52 (July 7, 1950) 313-315.

What the Diocese of Davenport and St. Ambrose College are doing to keep rural life alive there.

J. C. Fenton, "The Religious Assent Due to the Teachings of Papal Encyclicals," *American Ecclesiastical Review*, 123 (July, 1950) 59-67.

Father Fenton continues his study and concludes that denials are at least temerarious and opposed to the virtue of moderation.

Paul H. Douglas, "Freedom and the Diffusion of Power," *Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science*, 24 (May,

1950) 112-127.

The Senator from Illinois shows the need for—and some ways of achieving—decentralization of economic and political power.

John H. G. Pierson, "Point Four, Dollar Gap, and Full Employment," *The Annals*, 270 (July, 1950) 8-15.

One of the economic advisers to ECA urges the need of integrating all objectives of Point Four.

Reginald F. Trevett, "The Witness of the Catholic Life," *Clergy Review*, 34 (July, 1950) 1-15.

Indications of an integral Catholic apostolate in England.

Richard Arès, "Le Pape et la Co-gestion," *Relations*, 10 (July, 1950) 187-190.

Father Arès points out qualifications upon rights of workers in the administration of business which Pius XII has recently emphasized.

A. Taymans, S.J., "Nouvelles études sur l'entrepreneur," *La Vie Economique et Sociale*, March, 1950, 92-108.

Father Taymans, who was associated for a year with the Harvard Research Center in Entrepreneurial History, reviews its origins in Professor Cole's work and summarizes some of its accomplishments. He indicates four large lines of study: 1. role of the entrepreneur in economic development, 2. entrepreneur and the life of corporations, 3. perpetuation of entrepreneurship, 4. types of entrepreneurship.

W. R. Espy, "More T. V. A.'s," *N. Y. Times Magazine*, May 7, 1950, pp. 14-15ff.

The article is over-optimistic, but it has the advantage of completeness: all major river control projects are mentioned.

B. L. Masse, "Canadian Bishops on the Life of the Worker," *America*, May 6, 13, 20, 1950, pp. 137-39, 171-72, 211-14.

The recent pastoral from the entire hierarchy of Quebec province summarized with brief comment. See Fr. Sheridan's article in this issue of SOCIAL ORDER.



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